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The COMMUNIST

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PERSPECTIVES FOR OUR PARTY
Jay Lovestone

PRESENT TREND IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT
Max Bedacht

THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE REDS
Ben Gitlow

LITERATURE AND ECONOMICS
V. F. Calverton

MILITARY STRATEGY OF THE CIVIL WAR
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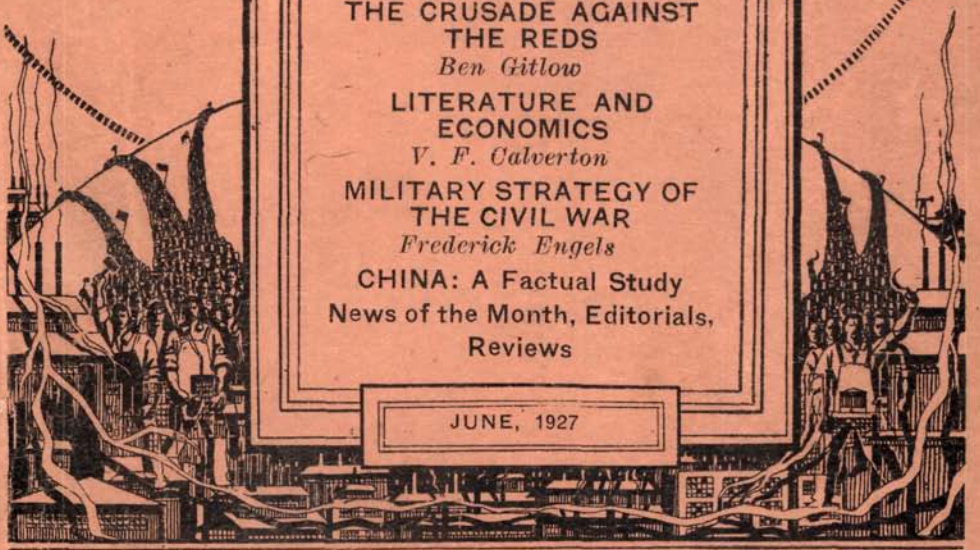

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The Communist

A Theoretical Magazine for the Discussion of Revolutionary Problems

PUBLISHED BY THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA

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EDITORIALS

Towards a New World War.

EVENTS have been moving very rapidly towards a new world war. Into the accumulated mass of combustibles, sparks are being dropped by diplomats, military men and bankers with complete recklessness. The "disarmament" conferences should no more deceive us than did the Hague Peace Conferences on the eve of the war of 1914. Our own country is spending more under its "disarmament" program today on military preparation than it did in 1914 or even in 1916 when its entry into the world war was already decided upon. We have over 50 battleships in Chinese waters and all the available marines are there except those in use in overrunning Nicaragua. The combined imperialist powers have a fleet of over 175 battleships on the Chinese coast and on Chinese rivers. This constitutes the largest array of battleships ever assembled together in "peacetime." Our ships engage in almost daily acts of aggression against the Chinese people, of which the Nanking massacre is only the most outrageous example.

* * *

In the efforts to build a united imperialist front of the great capitalist powers of the earth against China and the Soviet Union, the Die-Hard Tory government of Great Britain takes the lead. During its whole period of existence since it hastened the fall of the MacDonald government by the forged "Zinoviev Documents" it has doggedly and persistently worked for the building of a ring of steel around the Soviet Union—towards the construction of such a united imperialist front. Locarno, which deluded pacifists and treacherous opportunists extolled as a pact which would put an end to all war forever, was only one step in a long series of diplomatic moves which have culminated in the Nanking massacres, the identic five-power note, the raid on the Peking embassy of the Soviet Union, the raid on Arcos and the breaking of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

There are those who delude themselves into believing that the danger of a united imperialist front against China and the Soviet Union is remote, because of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers themselves. But the Nanking massacres, in which American marines took the lead, the five-power note, in which the United States, Japan, Italy and France participated along with Great Britain, the speech of Ambassador Herrick on Memorial Day bordering on an open endorsement of the Arcos raid, the transfer of American marines to Tientsin, and the repeated declarations of Secretary of State Kellogg, all point to the imminent danger that the two leading imperialist powers are temporarily burying their differences and uniting against the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution.

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The outstanding factors determining the course of world events today are the following:

1. The antagonism between British and American imperialism.
2. The antagonism between the oppressed peoples and their imperialist oppressors.
3. The antagonism between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers.

* * *

The antagonism between British and American imperialism is a struggle for economic and political world supremacy. Great Britain, long accustomed to dominate the earth, is today in decline and feels its dominance threatened and disputed at every turn by the vigorous rising might of American imperialism. Its capital export ratio has fallen far below that of the United States. It has been outdistanced in commodity export in many corners of the globe. It is hopelessly left behind in productive power, in national wealth, in the annual increment of additional wealth produced and in potential military and naval power. At the Washington conference (another conference that filled the pacifist dreamers with hope and gave the Social Democratic leaders a talking point to delude the masses) the American government forced the British to give up its cherished dream that "Britannia rules the waves". Up till then Britain had always insisted on maintaining as large a fleet as her next two nearest competitors put together. At the Washington conference she was compelled to accept "equality" with her chief rival, the United States, on a five-five-three ratio. The United States and Great Britain were henceforward to have five naval units each to three for Japan. In recent years, Great Britain has been crowded into second place in Latin America. Then she was crowded into second place even in Canada, where American investment has already equalled and passed British. On the world financial market, in spite of a protracted struggle which still continues, London has been forced to yield the coveted place of world banker and clearing house to Wall Street. She has even had to suffer the tortures of seeing her own colonies and dominions commit extensive financing ventures to American banks. Many continental European countries that once got their state policies and state finances in Lombard Street are getting the habit of turning for both to Wall Street. Even in the Orient where British imperialism still reigns easily supreme American capital has begun to jostle and shove and dispute for "a place" if not immediately for "the place." There are many other antagonisms between the imperialist powers such as that between France and Great Britain or America and Japan but the inter-imperialist struggle that is fundamental to our epoch is the struggle between the long dominant and even in its incipient decline still tremendously powerful British Empire and the rapidly climbing and already dominant power of American capital. It is a struggle for the control of the earth and it cannot fail to produce world-shaking events unless the disintegration of the British em-

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pire proceeds at a much faster pace or the spread of world revolution intervenes. One thing is certain, the British ruling class is not minded to give up without a struggle.

* * *

In spite of this fundamental conflict between the two leading imperialist powers, they have a common interest in the fact of a common enemy. Their common enemy is the world revolution which threatens the existence of all imperialism and all capitalism. It is symbolized on the one hand in the workers' republic of the Soviet Union and on the other in the rising tide of revolt of the peoples oppressed by imperialism.

* * *

Yet there is an important difference in the acuteness of the antagonism of these two great imperialist powers towards the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution. In the long run the American imperial power and the workers' power of the Soviet Union are the two poles of the economic earth. Between them there can be armistice and truce but not permanent peace. American capitalism is the apotheosis of imperialist capitalist power. The Soviet Union is the symbol and high point so far reached in the challenge to both imperialism and capitalism. This accounts for the implacable enmity of the American State Department and its refusal thus far to enter into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union altho diplomatic relations are normally sustained between antagonistic powers except when actually at war.

* * *

Britain, on the other hand, has had diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. This is explainable in part by the greater mass pressure for recognition on the part of the more powerful British working class. But that is not all. Britain's fate is more closely and intimately wrapped up with that of the Soviet Union and the rising tide of colonial revolt. Her economy is more dependent upon Europe of which the Soviet Union is so large a part and upon the orient of which the Soviet Union is also so large a part. And the antagonism of British imperialism toward the Soviet Union is more immediately acute because the problems she presents are more immediately pressing.

* * *

The mere existence of the Soviet Union is an inspiration to the working class of the capitalist nations and the continued growth of the economic and political power of the Workers' Republic is a source of growing strength to the workers' movements everywhere. But the British working class is more developed than the American. Hence the existence and growth of the Soviet Union is immediately a much greater menace to British capitalism than it is to American. The British general strike of last May is sufficient proof of

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* * *

The mere existence of the Soviet Union is also a continuous source of inspiration to the peoples of the East and to oppressed peoples everywhere. Here again, the rising imperialism of the United States does not feel the threat so intensely as the declining imperialism of Great Britain. The peoples of the East for historical and geographical and economical reasons are more deeply influenced than, let us say, the peoples of Latin America, by the inspiration of the Russian revolution. And the East plays a larger, nay a decisive part in the economy of the British Empire. Both as an inspiration to the working class and as a source of inspiration to the oppressed colonial peoples, the continued existence and growth of the Soviet Union constitutes a greater immediate menace to British imperialism than to America. And it plays a greater role in the economy of British capitalism in spite of the fact that it carries on more trade in absolute figures with the United States. This explains the contradictory actions of the British government in maintaining diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union while the American government remained aloof and yet plotting more energetically for war against the Soviet Union.

* * *

In calculating the chances of world war and its outcome, all these complicated and criss-crossing antagonisms must be taken into account. But the chief problem at the present moment is to calculate the chances of the construction of a united imperialist front against the Soviet Union and the Chinese Revolution. The chief barriers are:

1. The antagonism between other European imperialisms and British.
2. The antagonism between American imperialism and British.
3. The power of the working class in the various imperialist countries. (This is an inciting factor because the crushing of the Soviet Union would weaken the working class everywhere and destroy much of its power. Yet it is also a restraining factor because of the determination of the masses to prevent such an attack.)

The antagonisms between the imperialist powers and the pressure of the working class has so far prevented such a war. But the signs are undeniable that particularly Britain is getting more desperate and that a temporary united imperialist front is being consummated at the present moment.

* * *

The attitude of the United States government in connection with the building of such a united imperialist front has been a vacilating one. One moment our government maintains complete aloofness, the next she is actively participating. And the next nervously withdrawing from participation. This vacilation is no accident. It is not to be explained by the stupidity of Coolidge or the antics of "Nervous Nellie" Kellogg. It is to be explained by conflicting in-

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terests inside American capitalism, on the one hand, and on the other by the changing march of events themselves.

It is with the latter that we will concern ourselves here altho the conflicting interests inside the capitalist class which even reflect themselves in the cabinet in the conflicts real and sham between Hoover and Kellogg, are by no means to be ignored.

On the one hand, American imperialism is disputing with British, the control of the earth. This antagonism is deep-lying and fundamental. It may grow more acute or less acute from time to time, but it is continuous.

On the other hand, American and British imperialism have a common enemy in the Soviet Union and the rising tide of anti-imperialist revolt. And according to the predominance, now of the common interest, now of the underlying antagonism, does the policy of the United States fluctuate.

* * *

In China, the underlying antagonism between the two rival imperialisms expresses itself in the "open door policy" of the United States. This policy is much misunderstood. Many regard it as a policy of peace. It is really a policy of conflict. When American bankers and investors began knocking on the door of China, British imperialism was already well inside with the door locked behind her. British interests had banking rights, concessions, leaseholds, treaty ports, exclusive mining rights, exclusive railroad rights, etc. American interests had none of these. British imperialism was on the defensive. It wanted to maintain "status quo" in this respect. American imperalism was on the offensive. It was prepared to challenge Britain's privileges and dominance. As usual, it found pacifist and idealist slogans under which to mask its imperialist offensive—hence the "Open Door" policy.

* * *

The open door policy is a long range policy and will continue to be good state department doctrine until Britain's supremacy in China is ended and America's established. (Unless the revolution interferes). The policy means: (1) To force the door open until American interests are well inside; (2) to keep the door open until American interests are dominant; and (3) to shut the door tightly after British and Japanese and other rival interests have been largely crowded out.

Because British imperialism still has so many privileges and American relatively so few, Wall Street looks with mixed feelings upon the rising tide of the Chinese revolutions. It would not very strenuously object to the Chinese revolution for abolishing Britain's special privileges, leaseholds, concessions, mining rights, etc. It could even stomach with good grace the abolition of unequal treaties, extraterritorial rights, feudalism and militarism, and the unification of China into a single national bourgeois republic. A successful bourgeois revolution in China within the limits just described would be intolerable to British imperialism because it would end its

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whole system of exploitation in China. (Not to mention its effects upon India and other colonies). But the American interests involved could view the whole development with relative complacence.

But it is already becoming apparent that the Chinese revolution will not stop there. Tho it has by no means completed the bourgeois revolution it gives promise of transcending the limits of a bourgeois national revolution. But that will be a "horse of another color." Hence the State Department is debating whether it should not come to the rescue of "religion and civilization" in China before it is too late. Hence our marines are increasingly regarded less as a counterpoise to British and Japanese marines to prevent them from "taking advantage of the Chinese people" (which means getting advantages in China at the expense of American imperialism) and more as a means of "protecting foreigners, nationals, legations, missions and civilization." This explains the role played by the American marines in Nanking, the identic five-power note, the landing parties and gun boat fire, the declaration of Ambassador Herrick and many more harbingers of the rapid approach of a united imperialist front with its inevitable accompaniment of war on China and the Soviet Union. But the policy of our government is by no means settled. A new flare-up of antagonism between the two imperialisms in some other portion of the globe, the hope inspired by Chiang Kai Shek's defection that the revolution would stay within bourgeois limits, counter pressure at home—each of these is capable of temporarily modifying this still not settled policy. But the fundamental antagonism of the two leading imperialist powers is likely to be temporarily smoothed over as the tide of the Chinese revolution again rises rapidly and the leftward development continues. The hope inspired by Chiang Kai Shek is already fading. And the pressure against war here in America must be made much stronger if it is to prove effective. Hence the Stop-The-War and Hands-Off-China campaign is the most important campaign at present before the American labor movement and the American people. It must be intensified until every American understands the war danger and is fighting against it in an organized manner. Experience has taught us that a mere defensive campaign against war is not enough. It has proven easy to sweep us into war in spite of that. We must take the offensive. We must demand positive steps away from war. The chief of these at the present moment are the recognition of the Soviet Union and the recognition of the People's National government of Hankow. By developing a powerful enough movement for Hands Off China, for the withdrawal of the marines and the battleships, for the prevention of a united imperialist front between our country and Great Britain, for the recognition of the Soviet Union and of the People's National government of Hankow, we can stop the war which is nearer than most of us imagine and which promises to make the late world war look like a Sunday school picnic in comparison. Of course, if we fail to stop the war . . . . but we must not fail!

—B. D. W.

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Perspectives for Our Party.

By JAY LOVESTONE.

EDITOR'S NOTE:—The article printed below is a partial transcript of a recent speech made by Jay Lovestone. Parts of it had to be omitted because of their confidential nature and other parts because the stenogram was imperfect and Comrade Lovestone could not be reached in time to make corrections and supply missing portions. Where the intent seemed clear such corrections were supplied by me. The speech covers the general political and economic situation and some of the tasks confronting the working class and the Party.—B. D. W.

✦ ✦ ✦

THE present is a very appropriate moment for the Party to review its tasks in the light of the present economic and political situation of the United States. In order to have a correct estimate of the situation confronting the Party and the tasks we are facing we must first of all have a proper evaluation of the general conditions in which capitalism finds itself today.

American Capitalism on the Upgrade.

We will find that it is a basic fact in any analysis to be made of the conditions in this country that American capitalism is still on the upward grade—still in the ascendancy. American capitalism much more than any other capitalism in the world, is on the upward trend. If you take British capitalism, you will find it on the down grade. In other countries there is a partial stabilization. In still others a very sharp downward trend. In America, much more than in Canada or Australia, the trend of capitalism is still upward. And this can be evidenced very clearly first by an examination of the trend of the export of capital from the United States; second, by an examination of the productivity of American industry; third, by an analysis of the trend towards mergers and consolidation in industry and finance. It is not my purpose here to go at length into figures but any examination of the concrete facts of these three expressions of American capitalism will indicate that the curve and development of capitalism in the United States today is still positively and definitely upward.

Some might ask: If it is still definitely upward, does that mean it will continue on the upward trend for some time or is the outlook for a break in the curve? Our answer is that the peak of American capitalism—of American imperialist development—has not yet been reached. America's ability to exploit its colonial resources, America's ability to arm itself for a military struggle with other imperialist powers, America's productive activity, have not yet attained that level to which they can be developed in view of the present potentialities possessed by our bourgeoisie.

When we view this condition we must not view it statically. We must view it dynamically. We must view it in process of change.

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You will find very deep-going changes occurring in our economic system—changes which express themselves politically and express themselves therefore in changing class relations in the country. Such a change as the industrialization of the South—such a change as the growing power of finance capital and its effect on foreign policy—such changes as are occurring in agriculture as a result of the sharp and positive expropriation of the agricultural masses.

The Immediate Economic Situation.

But before examining the tasks of our Party in the light of these basic economic features or of the features of American capitalist economy, we should examine the immediate economic situation. What is the immediate economic situation? Have we a depression in America? The answer is: No! Have we had a recession in the so-called last cycle of prosperity? We have had a recession for some months. That recession was evidenced in the steel and automobile industry for a few months towards the close of last year. Are we on the eve of a depression? We are not on the eve of a depression. What is the outlook for an upward swing in prosperity? The outlook is for a sort of even keel in the present economic situation. This means that the peak of the last cycle of so-called economic prosperity has been passed. We have no recession—we have no depression and we are facing a situation which is somewhat lower as compared with the peak of 1925 but is not low enough to give us a basis for saying that we have a depression or we are heading for a depression. You will say that there were certain signs and very definite proofs of depressions in the basic industries. We must here take into cognizance the tremendous reserve power of American capitalism. If a country like France or Italy were to have such depressions—such a recession in the economic and productive relations as we had several months ago—undoubtedly there would be a more harmful effect on the working class of these countries. In the United States, because of the last prolonged period of so-called prosperity and because of the general tremendous reserve power of our bourgeoisie—a power which gains momentum as the curve of imperialist development in the United States continues to go upward—we have not had such political effects. We have not had the economic privations which some might expect on the basis of a mechanical analysis of the economic facts of industry in the last months.

American Agriculture—The "Scissors" Problem.

We must not overlook the conditions of American agriculture—the so-called scissors problem. This has not been met by the American bourgeoisie. Agriculture is worse off than it has been at any time in the last five years. Let us look at it in so far as it affects the population. In 1926, a year of banner prosperity for our ruling class, 2,155,000 farmers moved to the city. It is true a number of the city population moved to the country. But though

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it is certain that the overwhelming majority of those who migrated from the farms into the city did so due to economic pressure, it is also true that the overwhelming majority of migrants from the urban sections to the rural sections did not go because of economic pressure. The net number from the farms to the city is over 1,000,000—the largest decrease since 1920. And, the general level of farm prices on April 15th reached the lowest point since October, 1922, almost within five years. The general index stood at 125% of the pre-war figures on April 15, 1927.

When we examine the decline in some of the basic commodities we find the decline of cotton from 134% to 99% of the pre-war level; the farm price of wheat 161% to 133%; the decline of other commodities show similar decreases in varying degrees.

Some Basic Weaknesses of American Capitalism.

We must also point out that though the general trend of American capitalism is upward still there are certain important basic weaknesses of American capitalism—weakness which if they develop and deepen are to have tremendous effects politically. We can enumerate a number. First, the conditions of agriculture which are basic and which the bourgeoisie cannot meet. Second, installment buying. This is one of the inherent features of our so-called prosperity wave. This feature, though it appears as a temporary bliss to the bourgeoisie, is fraught with the most serious dangers for our whole credit system. To the observer who sees only the temporary and superficial aspects of phenomena, installment buying means the democratization of credit. But this carries with it also the intensification of misery. When the economic depression becomes serious it is above all the middle layers of the ruling class that will be very hard hit by that depression. That can have only a harmful effect on the whole bourgeois economic system which in turn will bring greater pressure on the working class. Another weakness is the overdevelopment of certain of our basic industries relative to the needs and so-called demands of the market. The coal industry is a typical example.

American Imperialism.

From this we should proceed to an analysis of the role of American imperialism. America today is the dominant imperialist power—that is a basic fact in the analysis of the world situation. But there are clouds developing on the horizon of our international relations. The attitude of Europe, of the European bourgeoisie, toward the United States is different today from what it was formerly. There is developing a growing trend for an opposition by the various national bourgeois groups against American imperialist domination. Whoever maintains that America can conquer Europe either without a war in which she vanquishes Europe, or without a firm alliance with British imperialism is wrong. In the last year, particularly in the last six months, there have been

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many expressions of intense opposition in Europe toward American capitalism—in the development of the so-called international trusts in Europe—of industries in Europe which have the support and protection of their governments serving as a basis of economic opposition to American imperialism and to America's position in its relation with Europe. This is apparent when examining the reaction of capitalist national groups to Coolidge's call for a disarmament conference.

In the Far East.

In the Far East America still, in the main, maintains its position of the so-called open door which really means a demand upon those capitalist powers who have come in to exploit China and the Far East before American imperialism entered the field—to give American imperialism such opportunities as will enable it not only to catch up with but to outstrip the European imperialist powers. Though at one time it may appear that American imperialism tends to drop this policy, at another time it appears very clearly that the conflicts either with Japan or Great Britain bring about a turning back to the fundamental American politics in the Orient—the open door. Thus in the Chinese situation as a result of the developments in Nanking, America was for a moment part of the five-power group to make certain demands of the Chinese revolutionary government. But no sooner were the actual steps to be taken than America pulled out. And you will find that when the imperialist powers develop frictions in Asia these necessarily begin to reflect in their relations in Europe and elsewhere.

The opposition of Great Britain, which is both a debtor and creditor imperialist power, to America, which is solely a creditor imperialist power, over the debt question is an opposition which makes it easier for contradictions and antagonisms to develop in China and in other so-called spheres of influence. Capitalist economy is international economy and these contradictions though they may appear softened are closely interwoven and they have such effect as to sharpen antagonisms.

In Latin America.

In recent months American relations with the Latin American countries have been sharpened extremely. The situation in Nicaragua must not be judged by the size of Nicaragua or by the number of military and naval forces stationed there. It is not accidental that Mexico can appear openly to take a position of opposition in Central American countries to American imperialism which is the dictator and receiver of the Central American countries. Such developing Latin-American opposition is further shown in the inability, in the failure of American imperialism to fix a settlement of the so-called oil dispute which dispute is growing out of the intervention of the imperialist powers in Latin America.

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American Relations With the Soviet Union.

But the whole attitude of the United States in the international relations today is reflected in its attitude toward the Soviet Union. Some might say: Why does not America recognize the Soviet Union today? Why is America the die-hard in the matter of recognition among the bourgeois powers? America represents the opposite pole of society today to that represented by the Soviet Union.

In all our international relations we must keep in mind the following factors: First, relations between the United States and England—the relations between the biggest imperialist power of yesterday which is today going down in its economy and the biggest imperialist power of today which is going upward at almost as rapid a pace as Great Britain is going down. Second, the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Political Reflections.

Let us examine now the political reflections of this economic condition in our home country. What is the political situation here? The power of capitalism is today as supreme as it ever was. It is more firmly rooted than it ever was. A proof of this is the attitude and practices of the ruling class towards the working class. Examine such decisions against labor as were made in the stonecutters' case in Indiana. Such decisions as were handed down by the state courts in Massachusetts against milk drivers' union. The recent action on Sacco and Vanzetti. Increased evidences of a drive against our Party. Examine the role of the governmental forces in the mine strike. This mine strike is a paralyzed strike but the bourgeoisie, not content that their agents have paralyzed the strike, have mobilized all their forces of oppression and suppression.

Let us examine the last proceedings of Congress. It has a somewhat different complexion from what the next one will have. What happened? The big capitalists made a "deal" with the representatives of the middle groups of the farm population—a deal which involved the voting of the farm representatives in the Senate for the MacFadden Banking Bill in return for which the spokesmen or some of the spokesmen for these interests voted for the McNary-Haugen Bill. In this successful attempt of the bourgeoisie to mislead the agricultural interests, Mr. Coolidge was left out of the picture. When they were presented to him, the McFadden Bill was approved but the McNary-Haugen Bill vetoed.

What is the significance of this McFadden Bill? Is it a mere banking bill? No, it is not a mere technical financial matter. The McFadden Bill indicates the political readjustment of our economic apparatus to the new role of American imperialism. The Federal Reserve system is not only perpetuated but it is extended to the international sphere and becomes an international federal reserve system. And it tightens the grip of the big financial interests more firmly than ever upon the lower strata of the capitalist class.

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Changes in Class Relationships.

The changes in class relationships in the United States are reflecting themselves in changes in the inner Party lineups in the old parties.

Primarily because of the conditions of agriculture there has been a weakening of the Republican Party, a weakening not in the sense of a collapse but a weakening in the sense of a change of political expression by large sections of farming masses whose conditions became worse within the last year and a half.

Then there is the question of foreign policy. There is still going on in the ranks of our bourgeoisie a struggle as to a definite foreign policy for the United States. This conflict cannot be explained merely by saying "industrial capital versus finance capital". There are sections of finance capital whose interests make for a policy which is a policy of isolation; other sections whose interests are bound up very firmly and very deeply with European economy. Industrial interests in the South propose that the Democratic Party adopt a high tariff while financial interests in the North propose that the Republican Party adopt a lower tariff policy.

Conditions in the United States today are not yet decisive in so far as the formation of a clear cut international policy is concerned. It travels not in a straight line but in a zigzag. As a result of trustification and imperialism we have developed a powerful state machinery—a state machinery which has a larger personnel today by 75,000 than when Mr. Coolidge first stepped into the White House. The government bureaucracy today is bigger than it was at any time since the demobilization of the special government bureaucracy set up during the war. The growth of the executive power is only a reflex of the growth of the concentration and centralization of our industrial process. We in the United States today have an unconstitutional monarchy. Our form of government has not changed. We still have a so-called democratic republic. But no ruler has as much power as the uncrowned head of the American government. You take the senate—the senate is supposed to have power over foreign policy. It does not have to "look in" on foreign policy. That is handled by the State Department. The strength of the Lower House is supposed to lie in the question of appropriations but the president has power to regulate the tariff and the control of a vast system of patronage to dictate to all congressmen on the system of appropriation.

Outlook for 1928 Elections.

What is the outlook of the 1928 elections? Is a third party of the petty bourgeoisie a strong probability? I don't think so. What is the outlook for the Labor Party, for a mass Labor Party in the 1928 election? On the basis of the present objective phenomena the chances for a mass Labor Party in 1928 are slim. At the same time the class divisions in the United States are being sharpened in the course of struggle.

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For instance in Congress the bloc system is developing. What is the bloc system? It is simply the next stage in the breakdown of existing class relations, in the breakdown of existing alignments within the ruling class and the movement toward another stage of the development of our class struggles and relations. Our system of political parties does not allow the expression of these passing stages in class relations to show themselves as clearly as they show themselves politically in countries like France and Germany.

Imperialism and the Working Class.

What is the effect of imperialism on our working class? We must examine that before we can discuss the tasks and problems of our Party. The general effect is to split up the working class, to create a gap between the upper stratum—the labor aristocracy of skilled workers—and the semi-skilled and unskilled workers. We should not underestimate the importance of the labor aristocracy in the working class. The labor aristocracy is the most educated, the best organized. Because of its ability to get certain concessions from the bourgeoisie, it has had certain special opportunities. American imperialism has succeeded in corrupting the labor aristocracy. The effect of this corruption has been to drive the whole labor movement as a labor movement towards the right.

Take the LaFollette movement. Was it a sort of a scheme hatched by the bourgeoisie? *No. It was a revolt of sections of* the masses which had previously followed the banner of the bourgeoisie. As compared with our movement it was a movement to the right. But viewed dynamically it was a movement to the left —a movement of progress. What happened to it? The LaFollette movement assumed the leadership of the Labor Party movement in a period of depression and when there was an upward swing the LaFollette movement was destroyed as a patent driving force in our class relations. And those who followed the LaFollette movement were also pushed backward. The development of American imperialism with its consequent corruption of the upper strata of our working class, this is the basic reason for the weakening of the Labor Party movement. So long as American imperialism can bribe the section of the working class which is the best organized so long as that condition remains we have a tremendous obstacle in the path of the labor movement's going to the left. I do not mean to say that there are not movements to the left within the fundamental trend. But the fundamental trend is to the right and so long as American capitalism's world dominance is maintained that is likely to be the trend unless other factors, at present unforeseen, arise—a crisis in European economy which is bound to have an effect on American economy or other expressions of capitalist derangements.

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The Present Trend in the Labor Movement.

By MAX BEDACHT.

In the American labor movement today there manifests itself a process of the utmost importance not only for America, but for the workers, and especially the organized workers, of the world. America has been the pace-setter in the rationalization of production. European capital is at present engaged in aclimatizing these "rational" American methods in its home countries; but American capital advances from the rationalization of production to the rationalization of the relationship between itself and organized labor.

American capital, because of its access to almost untouched natural resources and because of its freedom from the shackles of old and antiquated methods, building its structure in an entirely new world, was able to carry on its exploitation with much less positive pressure upon the workers than was possible to do for European capital. Therefore, the American working class occupied a relatively favored position compared with its older European brothers. The favorable field for American capital enabled it to draw incomparably higher profits than its European parent and thus was enabled to bribe practically the whole American working class with an infinitesmal share of its returns. The conditions which made for higher profits of American capital made also for an unprecedented growth of the productive machinery. This, in turn, kept the industrial reserve army at such a minimum that the workers could retain the higher wage standards without extraordinary difficulties. All these facts which guaranteed the American working class a higher standard of living than enjoyed by the workers of any other country, bore its fruit for American capital. As a result, the American working class is ideologically the most backward working class of the world. The fact that its standard of living was higher than that of the European working class blinded the American workers to the fact that these higher standards did not change their social status as a class of "have nothings" whose only source of livelihood was the sale of their labor power. Instead of realizing this social status, the American workers developed an ideology according to which their status as workers was only transitory and was the forerunner of a future bourgeois status.

Aside from this bribery of the whole American working class, manifested in higher wages as compared with those of the working class of the older capitalist countries, there also developed the universal practice of imperialism, that of granting certain advantages to special groups and sections of the working class. Specially skilled workers, or workers occupying key positions in the productive process were permitted to share, again only to an infinitesimal degree, in the super-profits of their bosses. Their share was sufficient to differentiate them from the great mass of unskilled and less favorably placed workers. When we consider that the skilled workers

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comprise, as a rule, the most intelligent, the most energetic and the best educated workers and that, therefore, the initiative and the leadership of the workers emanates from this particular stratum of the proletariat, then we realize how this bribing of certain groups of workers by capitalism can influence and retard the development of the labor movement.

For the purposes of our analysis here we can leave out of consideration entirely the comparatively advantageous position which the American worker holds over the European worker. While this advantageous position is in itself the result of a "bribe" made possible by a favorable position of American capital and granted to the American workers as a whole, yet considering the American working class separate and apart from the European proletariat, this "bribe" can be considered non-existent. Considering the established American standards of living, and considering further the American working class independent of its relative standard with European workers we find that misery, hunger and privation are as frequent guests in the homes of American workers as they are in the homes of the proletarians of the rest of the world. In other words, in spite of its advantageous position, the American proletariat is an exploited class, just as the most miserable working class in any other country of the world. This fact is gradually dawning upon the mass of the American workers and threatens to transform their ideological backwardness into a militant opposition to capitalism. The tendency toward such a transformation manifests itself in an ever growing urge among the working masses for organized resistance against the encroachments of the capitalists, and for general organization in preparation for economic struggles.

The recent experiences of European capital in its desperate struggles against the revolutionary proletariat, and the experiences of the Russian capitalist class in its futile resistance against the victorious proletariat have taught the American capitalists a lesson. They know that all the physical forces organized for the defense of their order are, in the last analysis, recruited from the working class, are a part of the working class, and are therefore an unreliable quantity in any revolutionary emergency. On the other hand, they see that through allowing some little participation in their unprecedented profits to any section or group of the working class they succeed in more or less separating such groups or sections of the working class ideologically from the rest of the workers. A systematization of the bribery in which capitalism has indulged all along towards some privileged section of the working class, therefore, affords in the eyes of the capitalists an opportunity to organize a more reliable defense guard among the working class than is presented by any police or military formation.

In the past, the bribery of certain sections and strata of the working class was incidental to the existence and development of capitalism itself. While this bribing was more or less systematized by the law of supply and demand, yet it was without any system

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from the standpoint of its usefulness and adaptability to the increase of the efficiency of the machinery of production. This void American capital is now engaged in filling.

The low average wage (and especially the low actual income) of the millions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers is making the masses ripe and ready objects for organization into labor unions. But the existing labor unions are unwilling to meet this situation. Capitalism meets it with an anti-labor offensive. This offensive takes the form first of extension and activization of company unionism, and, second, of an attempt to hitch the existing labor unions before its own profit chariot by means of class collaboration contracts.

The rapid industrialization of production in America has antiquated craft unions as instruments of economic struggle for the working class. These craft unions can at present only defend the guild interests of the crafts. The more the division of labor in industrialized production reduces the proportion of skilled workers employed, the more useless and valueless do the craft unions become as instruments of struggle of the workers as a class. Amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions, inclusion in the unions of all semi-skilled and unskilled workers is the only remedy for the situation. In fact, this transformation of the unions through amalgamation is an indispensible prerequisite for the organization of the unorganized masses because the present craft unions do not have the capacity of absorbing the unorganized masses in a real effective organization drive.

Organization of the unorganized masses and transformation of the trade unions into industrial unions will strengthen the workers organizationally, will help in eliminating craft and guild ideology and will thus lead toward a rapid development of class consciousness. Therefore, American capital is exerting every effort to prevent such a development. As instruments of such prevention it uses the reactionary bureaucracy within the labor unions. The program and policy for the unions propounded by this bureaucracy is the program of American capital.

Instead of strengthening the unions as instruments of proletarian struggle by making them mass unions, the official and reactionary bureaucracy endeavor to take away from them completely all character of fighting organizations. Instead of adapting form and content of the unions to the needs of the working class, they endeavor to adapt them completely to the needs of the capitalist class. They aim to make the trade unions instruments of the bosses for installing more efficient production. This will make the trade unions adjuncts to the system of company unionism. The success of this policy presupposes that craft unionism be maintained, and that the unskilled and semi-skilled workers be excluded from them. On the other hand, craft unions can only maintain themselves by adapting themselves to the need of the bosses—since they are no longer adapted to the needs of the workers.

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The economic pressure upon the workers produces their first fighting organizations, the trade unions. In the struggle of the trade unions the workers' experience that in all their individual differences with the capitalists they always face the power of the whole capitalist class in the form of the capitalist state power. The gradual growth of this realization produces political consciousness with the workers. Their disconnected and isolated economic struggle against individual capitalists thus finds a unifying force in this growing political consciousness. The workers become class conscious. The perfectly class conscious agents of capitalism in the reactionary trade union bureaucracy fully realize the radicalizing effect of all labor struggles on the workers. Therefore, they strive consciously to replace trade union struggles by a program of workers'-employers' cooperation. They also consciously oppose and refrain from organizing the unorganzed masses.

Workers'-employers' cooperation has become known under the term of class collaboration. Class collaboration is a contradiction which the difference of class interests make insoluble. What is called class collaboration is an agreement made by small sections of the working class with the whole of the capitalist class, according to which these workers will not fight on the side of their class against the bosses, but on the side of the bosses against the workers. Class collaboration, therefore, does not eliminate, but does rather intensify the class struggle.

The principle of class collaboration represents one of the methods by which capitalism hopes to systematize the bribing of certain strata of the working class. This is most clearly evidenced by class collaboration contracts of the B. & O. plan type. In the I. A. M. we have a union whose members are not confined to any particular industry, but hold key positions in almost all industries. Any contract which makes the skilled machinists willing instruments in the hands of the bosses to speed up production, to install efficiency, effects tens and hundreds of thousands of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who are not part of the contract, and who, therefore, do not share in any form in the results of this efficiency, but only suffer from it through ever increasing speed-up and exploitation. It is clear that only an organization of skilled workers whose members operate in industries with many unskilled workers, is of value to the bosses in this respect. Therefore, we witness that the same bosses who are praising in most glowing terms the principle of workers'-employers' cooperation are engaged in a most bitter campaign of destruction against a real mass union, that of the coal miners. In fact, the very principle of systematization of the bribing of certain sections of the working class will reduce the actual number of workers participating in the bribe. It will reduce them to the most valuable and most important little groups of highly skilled workers whose cooperation with the bosses will insure in the highest degree possible the maintenance of the productive machinery even in the face of a mass revolt of the workers. A com-

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parative handful of skilled workers become willing tools in the hands of the bosses in a systematic speed-up of production. For this service, the bosses are willing to bribe the collaborators with an occasional bonus or with automatic wage increases which to an extent keep step with, tho they limp behind, the rising rate of profit. The sufferers of this "class collaboration" are the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who are the victims of this workers'-employers' cooperation by virtue of an intensified relative and positive exploitation.

In this situation, the unorganized masses must be recruited for assistance. Aside from the opposition which the class collaborators find within the organized labor movement in the all-too weak left wing within the unions, it is necessary to organize and systematize the urge of the unorganized masses for organization and struggle as a counter-balance against the anti-working-class endeavors of the reactionary bureaucracy. In the same degree as this bureaucracy attempts to mobilize the unions against the working masses, in the same degree the revolutionists must endeavor to mobilize these unorganized masses against the endeavors of this bureaucracy.

The unorganized masses are the bulk of the American working class. Of 8,384,000 workers employed in the manufacturing of finished products, hardly 9 per cent are organized. These 9 per cent to a large degree represent crafts in industries where the percentage of skilled workers employed is highest. Thus, for instance, we find in the industry of paper making and paper products out of 536,000 workers about 28 per cent organized; but these 28 per cent are in turn confined mostly to the printing industry where the percentage of organized workers is much higher than 28 per cent, while in the paper making industry there are hardly any organized workers. In the textile industry, to take another example, there are more than one and one-half million workers employed. About 18 per cent of them are organized. But these 18 per cent are mostly confined to the textile product (clothing) industry. While of the 750,000 workers employed in the textile manufacturing, only 6.8 per cent are organized. The average wage in the textile industry is only $17.88 per week. This does not take into consideration cyclical or seasonal unemployment, sickness, etc. There can be no argument that these workers are unconvincable for the need of organization. On the contrary, sporadic and often unorganized struggles of these workers within the last fifteen years prove that this is not so. They are unorganized because the natural leaders in the organizational work among the unorganized, the trade unions, are unwilling to organize them and are even opposed to their organizat on. Similar conditions exist in the leather industry. With about one-half of 1 per cent organized out of 315,000 workers employed the nominal average weekly wage is only $21.70. The rubber industry employing 140,000 workers with a nominal average weekly wage of $24.70 is absolutely unorganized. The chemical in-

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dustry, employing 380,000 workers with a nominal average weekly wage of $23.60, is totally unorganized. In the building of transportation equipments (automobiles, locomotive, trucks, etc.) nearly 600,000 workers are engaged; there exists hardly any trade union organization in this industry although the nominal average weekly wage is only $31.50.

Against the attacks of such conditions among the mass of workers even the most pro-capitalist ideology cannot forever remain bullet proof. In fact, there is enough restlessness right now among these unorganized masses to guarantee a substantial response to any serious attempt of organization among these masses.

Considering all of the conditions and forces mentioned above we come to the conclusion that:

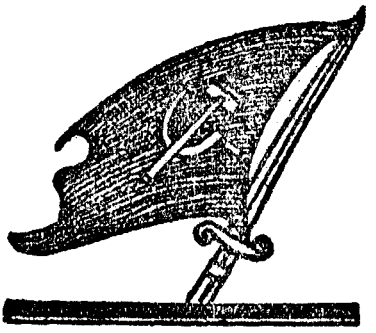
First, American capital is at present busily engaged in consciously preventing the ideological crystalization of the American working class into a political entity.

Second, it is hoping to accomplish this through a systematization for the bribing of a certain small section of the working class, thus hitching these sections of workers up more securely with their profit system and making it harder for the mass of other more exploited workers to resist.

Third, the instrument with which the bosses attempt to carry through their designs is the reactionary bureaucracy of the organized labor movement.

Fourth, the natural force of resistance against these endeavors is (besides the left wing in the unions) the mass of dissatisfied, underpaid, and overworked unorganized workers.

Fifth, any policy therefore which attempts to meet this situation must combine the activities of the militant workers within the organized labor movement with serious attempts of recruiting all possible resistance among these unorganized masses against the attempted complete sell-out of the working class interests by the reactionary labor bureaucracy.



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"The Crusade of the A. F. of L. Against the Reds."

By BEN GITLOW.

ON April 12th the newspapers report that Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, announced another Red-hunting crusade. Said Matthew Woll, "Communist strikes are conceived and conducted as a necessary prerequisite to a revolutionary industrial war which is to end in Communist dictatorship direct from Moscow." It is further reported that to combat this purported menace, Mr. Woll is to form a committee composed of trade unionists and prominent citizens, that will inquire into all Communistic developments and activities in Greater New York. Matthew Woll representing directly the desires of the dominating reactionary bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor and the capitalists is forming a so-called Lusk Committee of 1927. Matthew Woll heads the Luskers of 1927. In 1919 it was the notorious Lusk Committee that investigated radical and revolutionary activities, raided the headquarters of workers' organizations and the Communist Party, made mass arrests without proper warrants and succeeded in sending many Communist and other working class leaders to prison for long periods of time.

The crusade against the Reds in spite of this announcement has been started many months ago by Matthew Woll and the A. F. of L. reactionaries. The needle trades in greater New York are the center of this campaign. The whole anti-Red, anti-Communist campaign is an important incident of the class struggle in the United States. It must be given very serious consideration, because it is most bitter and desperate campaign ever conducted against the revolutionary, Left Wing and progressive forces in the trade unions. The A. F. of L. has succeeded in uniting into one reactionary block against the Communists and the Left Wing the following forces: The reactionary labor bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., the right wing in the needle trades, the Socialist Party, the capitalists and the government. The primary objective of this reactionary block is the crushing of the left wing and progressive movement in the unions by the elimination from the trade unions of the most conscious elements, the Communists.

The needle trades were chosen for the battle ground for the following three reasons:

1. The right wing had for the past few years been fighting

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the advance of the Left Wing in those unions and was there practically fighting for its life as a controlling power. It could therefor be trusted to follow out instructions and lead the fight.

2. The needle trades being considered unions of a socialist and radical character, made up to a large extent of foreign born workers many of whom had come from Russia, the charge of a red and Communist danger could be made more effectively.

3. Since the Communists and the Left Wing had in the needle trades the greatest influence their defeat and elimination would be a crushing blow to entire Left Wing of all the unions and the end of the Communist influence for a long time to come.

Basically and fundamentally this is a truly capitalist offensive in the trade unions. It is a struggle between two positions maintained in the labor movements that are diametrically opposed to one another. The one position is that the trade unions must by all means respect capitalism, even though to do that they must betray the workers' interests. The other position is that the unions must at all time fight for the interests of the workers even though their fight may and will lead to the complete destruction of capitalism. President Green of the A. F. of L. consciously hides this fundamental difference in his article on "Communists" in the Federationist. He writes:

> Let no union think it can tolerate Communist propaganda or compromise with Communist propositions. The differences between trade unionists and Communists are diverse as two poles . . . . They are not interested in building better industrial conditions by slow and steady progress within the present system, but are working for a revolution which will destroy the system and substitute Communism . . . . There is only one wise way to handle a Communist found in a union; make public his affiliation and expel him. It is unwise to permit Communists any opportunity for leadership . . . . The only way to deal with Communism is to eradicate it root and branch and then concentrate on constructive work.

When Green speaks of the Communists he means the whole militant opposition in the trade unions, the Communists, Left Wing and progressives who oppose the policies of the reigning bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. of peace and surrender to the bosses with the policy of militant struggle against the bosses in the interest of the workers. Green speaks on behalf of that wing of the labor leadership which is the defender of the capitalists and their system of society.

The issue is not one of "Communism" versus trade unionism. "Communism" is the smoke screen raised by Green, in the same way that the bosses during a strike raise the "Bolshevik Danger", in order to avoid the economic issues involved. In this case Green and the whole reactionary bureaucracy that controls the unions tries to

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hide the actual economic, political and tactical issues that are raised in the unions by the Communists and Left Wing as a necessary prerequisite in the present struggle of the organized workers against the bosses if the unions are to advance and be victorious against the encroachments of the powerful capitalists' interests. This fact will become very clear when we examine the three outstanding events in the class struggle of 1925 and 1926, the Passaic Textile Workers' Strike, the New York Furriers' Strike and the New York Cloakmakers' Strike.

In a country like the United States where big trustified machine industry plays such an important role, the workers of which are almost totally unorganized the question of the organization of the unorganized is one of major pressing importance if the workers are to acquire sufficient power to combat the power of big capital. The A. F. of L. has not only ignored but resisted the organization of the unorganized. The Communists and the Left Wing have not only raised this question as one of the questions for the trade unions but in the Passaic Textile Workers' Strike which was led by them put it into concrete form. The Passaic Textile Workers' strike was the one big move in recent years for the organization of the unorganized. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy including President Green denounced the strike as a Communist affair and appealed to the labor movement not to support it. They made the same charges the capitalists made. The strike, however, was led so militantly, it was such a dramatic struggle to organize the unorganized that the rank and file of the unions rallied to its support and forced the A. F. of L. not only to give the strike its endorsement but also to admit the strikers into the A. F. of L. The Passaic strike proved two contentions of the Communists and the Left Wing. That the unorganized workers were capable of militant action and that their organization was not a futile dream.

The Furriers' Strike was the first strike of organized workers to be led by the Left Wing and by Communists. The strike took place at a time of prevailing apathy and pessimism in the labor movement. The policy of class collaboration dominated in the trade unions. It decried strikes as futile and costly to the workers. The Furriers' General Strike disproved this. It proved that the policy of militancy, of class struggle advocated by the Left Wing could with a Left Wing leadership bring victory to the workers. In spite of police brutality, treachery by the right wing, bitter opposition of the bosses and hostility on the part of President Green and the A. F. of L. the 17 weeks' general strike of the 12,000 furriers ended in a great victory for the workers. In addition to substantial increases in wages, improved working conditions, better union control

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in the shops and the increasing of the membership of the union it fell to a union led by the Left Wing and the Communists to establish the 40-hour week and to raise it as an immediate big issue for the entire organized labor movement.

The Passaic strike involved 16,000 workers, the Furriers' strike 12,000 workers and the Cloakmakers' strike 40,000 workers. The Cloakmakers' strike started July 1st, 1926, and lasted 6½ months. The leadership of the strike was mainly in the hands of the Left Wing and the Communists. The right wing dominated the national organization and still maintained substantial control in New York where the strike took place. The strike marked the severest struggle in the history of the needle trades. The Left Wing and Communist leadership had to contend with a powerful opposition. In spite of the fact that only a partial victory was recorded, increases in wages and the 40-hour week having been gained, the strike like the Furriers and the Passaic Textile Workers' Strike added to the influence of the Left Wing and the Communists. At the same time the organized workers could compare the policy of class collaboration, peace and surrender to the bosses with the policy of militancy, of class struggle advocated by the Communists and Left Wing. The workers concretely could estimate the failure of the first and the advantage of the latter.

The Communists and the Left Wing therefore began to steadily gain influence among the masses of the workers generally and in the trade unions in particular. The workers were beginning to realize that not only theoretically but also actually in the class struggle the Left Wing was challenging and refuting the policies of the dominant labor officialdom. As a result of these three struggles the isolation of the Party from the trade unions was to a degree overcome. The reactionary labor bureaucrats and the capitalists began to fear if the growing influence of the Left Wing and the Communists were allowed to proceed unchecked, the Left Wing would develop such a sweep as to threaten the continued dominance of the reactionary forces over the trade unions. Hence the capitalist offensive—the crusade against the Reds in the trade unions.

It was no imaginary danger this sweep of the Left Wing in the trade unions. A determining and decisive factor for launching the offensive against the Left Wing and the Communists was the campaign to "Save the Union" that swept the elections in the United Mine Workers of America. This campaign represented a united front between the Left Wing and the progressives. Here was startling and indeed very convincing proof that the influence of the Left Wing was infecting the most powerful and influential unions of the A. F. of L. The very foundation of the reactionary strength in the

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A. F. of L. was threatened and with it the whole security to capitalist industry of the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious industrial conditions. The newspapers reported a secret meeting of the cabinet at Washington, D. C., to consider the Communist menace. The A. F. of L. convention fumed and harangued against the Left Wing and the Communists on the occasion of the discussion of the recognition of the Soviet Union. The menace of the Left Wing had to be combatted. Reliable information was received that around December 4th, 1926, the A. F. of L. called hurriedly a secret meeting of its most prominent International officers. Present at the meeting was William Green, president of the A. F. of L.; John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L. and president of the Photo Engravers' Union. The meeting adopted the following program:

That every measure should be taken to smash the cloakmakers' strike.

That the Passaic Textile Workers must not be permitted to win their strike.

That the coming elections in the United Mine Workers of America should be stolen.

That Morris Sigman should start the drive against the Communists and the Left Wing in the cloakmakers' union immediately.

The big capitalist and bureaucratic offensive to smash by fascist methods split and disruption the unions was therefore instigated by the A. F. of L. to check the growing influence of the Party and the Left Wing among the organized masses not only in the needle trades but also in the United Mine Workers of America and in all other unions as well.

The advent of the Communists and the Left Wing into the trade unions was to sharpen the class struggle. With the sharpening of the class struggle, and the growing influence of the Left Wing took place the consolidation of the reactionary forces in the trade unions. Against the unification and consolidation of forces of the working class from below, through organization of the unorganized, amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions, militant struggles against the bosses to improve the conditions of the workers as for examples no wage cuts and the establishment of the 40-hour week, took place the amalgamation of the right wing and the reactionary reigning bureaucracy who in unity with the capitalists and their government started a united drive to crush the rank and file movement. In other words a united front on top to check the unification and consolidation of the working class forces from below.

That the right wing should unite in the trades unions with the

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reactionary bureaucracy is an event that indicates the role that the Socialist party will play in the class struggle in the United States. The right wing in the needle trades is that section which is dominated by the Socialist Party and more directly by the Socialist newspaper, the Jewish Daily Forward. The right wing was for years in opposition to the ideology and tactics of the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. It opposed Samuel Gompers' anti-working class policy, was bitter in its denunciation of class collaboration as exemplified in the participation of Samuel Gompers and other labor leaders in the Civic Federation together with capitalists and enemies of the trade unions, and waged a bitter campaign against Samuel Gompers and his policies as detrimental to the interests of the working class. Now this right wing dominated ideologically by the middle class reformism of the Socialist Party is the spear head in the reactionary attack against the Left Wing and the Communists. It now supports all the policies of the reactionary officialdom of the A. F. of L. During the strike of the Furriers and Cloakmakers it acted as a most treacherous agent of the bosses against the workers. In the war against the Lefts, the right wing expels whole unions and joint boards. It raises the cry of Communism and world revolution. It creates a red baiting hysteria against the militants in the unions. It acts as police informers and succeeds in sending innocent workers to prison. It uses fascist methods to terrorize the membership. Every assistance on the part of the capitalist government is welcomed and sought by the right wing in its campaign against the Left Wing and the Communists. The present period therefore marks the elimination of the right wing and the Socialist Party as an aid to the workers in the class struggle and exposes it as the tool of the labor bureaucrats and the capitalists.

The settlement of the cloakmakers' strike with the Industrial Council, the association of the inside manufacturers was the signal for starting the campaign against the Left Wing. It was no accident that when the New York Times reported the settlement of the cloakmakers' strike on the front page it printed in the column right next to it with a headline equally as large the news that the railroad workers without a strike through the arbitration machinery set up by the Watson-Parker bill gained a slight increase in wages, thus contrasting arbitration, class collaboration versus class struggle and strike. This was followed up by an editorial called Wasteful and Futile Strikes in which the Times stated:

> The cloakmakers' strike on a smaller scale is like the British coal strike, inasmuch as the cloakmakers like the British miners obstinately refused to admit that the welfare of the workers is bound up with the welfare of their industry . . . . That there are times when it would seem that labor leaders have outgrown the ancient slogans about the

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robber capitalists, labor leaders not being afraid to admit that wages go hand in hand with productivity, when along comes a garment strike or a coal strike to show that the old fallacies are still strong enough to be exploited by ignorant and selfish leaders.

The Times states the position of the capitalists' opposition to the Left Wing. The capitalists oppose the Left Wing it refuses like the right wing and the reactionary labor bureaucrats to admit that the interests of the workers are identical with the interests of capitalist industry and that the only way in which the workers' conditions can be improved is through intensification of the exploitation of the workers through speeding up, increased productivity.

The capitalist press, the reactionary bureaucrats and the right wing launched a bitter attack against the Communist and Left Wing leadership of the cloakmakers' strike ignoring every gain and magnifying every settlement made. The G. E. B. of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union issued the following statement showing to what extremes the right wing went in its attack:

> We charge that in this case the strike was provoked without necessity and authorization and that the defeat was brought about by the incompetence and criminal negligence of the leadership of the cloakmakers' union. The great move which our International Union has conducted for the past three years to force responsibility upon the jobbers for work standards in the submanufacturing shops controlled by them was seized by the Communist leaders of the Joint Board as a political move for fortifying the positions of the Communist leadership and for carrying out the philosophy and tactics of the Communist Party. That explains the reason why they brushed aside the recommendations of the Governor's Commission.

First the right wing issues the above official statement before the strike is completely settled, when about 20,000 workers were still out on strike, that the strike was lost, that the reason the strike was lost was because the Communist laedership refused to submit to arbitration, to the proposals of the Governor's Commission because they desired to wage a strike for political reasons and to carry out the philosophy and tactics of the Communist Party. The G. E. B. knew that the strike was not defeated, that Morris Sigman and other right wing members of the G. E. B. while they favored the acceptance of the Governor's Commissions proposals did not dare openly to say so, that a strike could not be avoided because at the early conferences between the Union and the manufacturers it was very clear that the manufacturers were out to force the union to accept proposals for the absolute right of the bosses to discharge and against the right of the union to strike and for the introduction of the standards of production a most vicious speed up proposal. Furthermore the G. E. B. knew that the strike was led by a combined leadership. That Louis Hyman, the chairman of the Strike Committee though a Left Winger was not a Communist. That

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Sigman and other right wingers held important posts in the leadership of the strike. The statement ignores the fact that the right wing did everything in its power to sabotage and defeat the strike for its own political purposes. Nevertheless it ends its statement calling for the expulsion and crushing of the militant leadership of the cloakmakers' union in this language: "It is the sacred duty of the labor movement to rid itself of this pestilence. The great task before the cloakmakers of New York at this time is to rid themselves of that irresponsible and ruinous leadership."

The active role that the Socialist Party is playing in this capitalist offensive in the trade unions is clear in the resolution adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in which the following is stated:

> We rejoice that the members of the needle trade unions have united in a campaign to save the unions from the influence that has led some of them to the brink of ruin. To the extent that Socialist Party members can be of service in this work we pledge their willing co-operation in the hope and belief that the intelligent idealism and sanity that made unions in the needle trades a power and an inspiration to all other organized workers will return and enable them to march to other conquests in the industry.

The call to the Preserve the Unions Conference signed by five socialist trade union officials more clearly indicates the leading role the Socialist Party is playing in this campaign. The following choice remarks that could have been made by the most vicious Red baiter and enemy of the proletarian revolution and the Soviet Union is taken from their call to action:

> Among the many evil after effects of the war, the labor movement in a number of cities in this country, particularly in New York had the misfortune of inheriting what is known as a Left Wing or Communist movement. The revolution in Russia created the impression in the minds of a number of people that a similar revolution was due in the United States and that any movement that did not join the Communist International was a traitor to the working class.
>
> Then followed a period of wild activity in the trade unions with the slogan of: Capture or Destroy. There was organized the Trade Union Educational League working under the instructions and constituting an integral part of the Workers (Communist) Party. The league attracted to itself a group of charlatans of shady character, some comic opera revolutionists, and a handful of earnest people who were led to believe that in this way they could best serve the interests of the Russian Revolution.
>
> The unions must remain free from outside domination and from the interference of all political parties. (Here should be added except the capitalists' parties and the Socialist Party. B. G.)
>
> We therefore call for war upon Communist disruption . . . . The labor movement shall lend no assistance to any undertaking which directly or indirectly includes the Communists. It shall be war to the finish. Down with Communism. Long live the trade unions.

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The bosses cry "down with Communism" whenever the workers demand an improvement in their conditions and against the Left Wing that fight to unify the workers and improve their conditions the Socialists raise the capitalist war cry: "Down with Communism."

Even Norman Thomas who has long been considered the Left of the Socialist Party is forced into line in this holy war against the Reds. In the New Leader of December 25th he congratulates Morris Sigman who is hated and despised by the entire membership for his abrogation of all democracy and freedom of expression in the union together with Morris Hillquit who bled the striking cloakmakers with big fees during the strike at the same time misleading them, in the following words of praise:

> President Sigman and Morris Hillquit as counsel are to be congratulated on the clean cut victory they won for the cloakmakers before the arbitration board. In general the I. L. G. W. U. seems to be making good progress in cleaning up the mess created by the Left Wing leadership.

Mr. Thomas, what better terms did Sigman and Hillquit win above the terms that the Left Wing won after leading the strike against the damnable treachery, sabotage and strike-breaking activities of Hillquit, Sigman and Co.? Furthermore, Mr. Thomas, why were the bosses so anxious to settle with Sigman and Hillquit and not with the Left Wing?

On December 13th the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union met and passed an expulsion order expelling the New York Joint Board which conducted the cloakmakers' strike and had under its jurisdiction 60,000 to 75,000 workers. The war to crush the Left Wing was on with the full support of the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. President Green of the A. F. of L. appointed a committee of the A. F. of L. to assist Morris Sigman, president of the I. L. G. W. U. in his campaign against the Communists and the Lefts. The committee consists of the following: Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L.; Hugh Frayne, New York organizer of the A. F. of L.; John J. Sullivan, president of the New York State Federation of Labor; Joseph Ryan, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York and John F. O'Hanlon, legislative representative of the State Federation of Labor at Albany.

The fight against the Left Wing and the Communists is now being led directly by the A. F. of L. through Matthew Woll. At the conclusion of the Furriers' strike the executive council of the A. F. of L. appointed a special investigation committee headed by Matthew Woll to conduct a star chamber investigation of the strike activities of the Furriers' Union. The investigation was conducted for the special purpose of framing up the leaders of the Furriers'

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Joint Board who had led the workers to a splendid victory. Since the bureaucracy opposed strikes the fruits of the victory must be taken away from the fur workers through eliminating their leaders and in the eyes of the broad masses to discredit the conduct of the leaders so that the lessons to be drawn from their method of leadership should not impregnate the members of the trade unions. The results of the investigation was made public at a meeting of the executive council of the A. F. of L. at its meeting in St. Petersburg, Florida on Jan. 13. The report submitted by Matthew Woll charged that the Furriers' Joint Board spent $100,000 to bribe police, that the strike leaders used violence and beat up scabs citing cases and charged that money which the investigation committee knew was spent for strike benefits could not accounted for. Even Soviet Russia was drawn into the report on the basis that the final settlement made by the Union and the Association was forced by a manufacturer who had an $8,000,000 a year fur concession from the Soviet government. The executive council authorized President Green as follows:

"President Green is further authorized to consider having the proper authorities to inquire into the trade relations between any of the fur importers of the United States and the Soviet government, or to inquire into the activities of any and all Russian trade associations or combinations acting within the United States as well as to have the State Department inquire into all activities of the Communistic groups, their friends, sympathizers and Russian concessionaire seekers in order to determine the extent to which thes[illegible] influences are at work."

The A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the report on the Furriers' strike proves the contention that the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is nothing more than the lieutenants of American capitalism. President Green is instructed to get the State Department to act against the Communists and the Left Wing. The report of the A. F. of L. on the Furriers' strike is being considered at a hearing by Judge Corrigan. Matthew Woll and McGrady the chief representative of the A. F. of L. who, together are leading the fight against the furriers' Joint Board have appeared in court and testified before a capitalist judge against the leaders of the Furriers' union. Due directly to the instigation of the A. F. of L., the hysteria which its anti-Red campaign has created the leaders of the Furriers' Union are behind prison bars while they are being tried on a strike case in Mineola, a Ku Klux Klan stronghold, on a serious charge. Matthew Woll does not defend these loyal leaders of the workers but issue statements condemning them and backing up their persecution in Mineola. Nor does the Socialist Party and the right wing protest. They

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go hand in hand with Green and Woll inspiring and aiding them in their agent provocateur work.

Back of the whole campaign is the capitalist class and the government. The New York Commercial, an open shop Wall Street paper declared when the A. F. of L. opened up its campaign against the Communists that they give the campaign full support because it is directed against a common enemy, the Communists. Secretary of Labor Davis issued a statement on New Years in which he gives support to the campaign of the A. F. of L. against the Communists who have been responsible, as Davis puts it for the hardly more than ripple of industrial disturbances in the year 1926. The cloak bosses and the fur bosses have been eager to repudiate the Furriers' Union and the Cloakmakers' Union and to recognize the bastard organizations set up by the A. F. of L. The government is giving the campaign of the united reaction full support. The police are most brutal in their treatment of the workers. Strike cases are being pushed and innocent workers by the score are being sent to prison. Injunctions are issued one after the other against the legitimate organizations.

The fight is also being conducted on an International scale. The presence of Kerensky in the country is utilized to link up the counter revolutionary white forces with the campaign against the Left Wing in America. Kerensky speaks from the same platform with Green of the A. F. of L. at a meeting of a right wing local of the I. L. G. W. U. Then Matthew Woll speaks with Kerensky at a meeting of the counter revolutionary organization, the Relief Society for Socialist Prisoners and Exiles in Russia. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy joins hands with international menshevism in an international struggle against Communism. Matthew Woll introduces Kerensky as the symbol of democracy in Russia assuring Kerensky that organized labor in the United States was hopeful that the Soviet government would be overthrown. Mr. Woll asks Kerensky at that meeting. What can American wage earners do to promote liberty and democracy in Russia? Kerensky obliges as follows: *"First they can stamp out Communism in the United States.* Then they can bring influence to bear on the administration at Washington to further prevent the spread of Soviet influence as it is now attempting to spread in China."

This is the extent of the capitalist and trade union bureaucrats' offensive in the trade unions. It is the united front of all the reactionary forces not only on a national scale but on an International scale to crush the rising Left Wing movement in the American trade unions. The outcome of the struggle now going on in the needle trades will be of tremendous historical importance to

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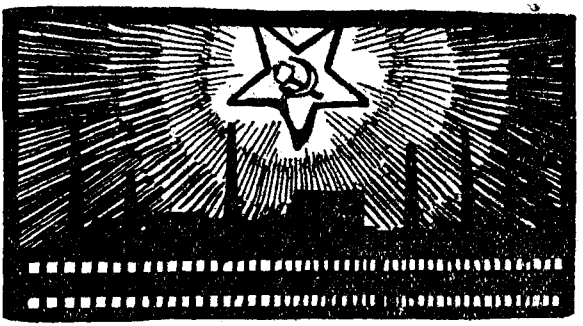
the trade union movement and to the Communist Party of the United States.

Against the united reactionary attack the workers in the needle trades are consolidating their forces. The Cloakmakers' Joint Board and the Furriers' Joint Board have formed a joint committee to conduct the fight against the reactionaries. The community is known as the Unity Committee. The needle trade workers of New York point out that only through greater unity and solidarity can the reactionary offensive be defeated. The needle trade unions must be amalgamated. The shop committees must be pushed to the forefront to replace the bureaucratic machine of the reactionaries. The whole labor movement must be aroused to the defense of the needle trade workers who are being victimized and sent to prison.

This offensive will not end with the elimination of the Left Wing if it is successful. Its success means the smash up of the trade unions or their transformation into company unions. The Left Wing fights for the whole trade union movement and for the rank and file. The Times says editorially it is a fight of Unionism vs. Class Struggle. The Left Wing states it is a fight to maintain the unions as instruments of struggle in the interest of the workers.



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Literature and Economics.

By V. F. CALVERTON, Editor of *The Modern Quarterly.*

Introduction.

ONE is usually taught to look at literature and art in terms of individual expression. The influence of social environment is almost invariably minimized in comparison with the inspiration of individual genius. As a result, the artist is often considered as an entity in himself, unaffected by changes in social life and economic environment.

This attitude, which is still dominant in literary and artistic circles, is stated with directness and naivete by Llewelyn Powys in an article entitled: *Literature and Revolution.*

> What in the devil's name has imaginative literature got to do with revolutions and counter-revolutions . . . .
>
> It is the ancient prerogative of men of letters to be free of any obligation in connection with political parties. We are antinomians and it is our hereditary privilege to remain unimplicated. We can flourish as well in a palace as in a hovel. Our concern is with Life, with the movement of Life, now simple, now complex, now full of joy, now full of terror. If we become propagandists our power would be lost. True literature, like true religion, is a thing entirely detached from the delusive turmoil of everyday reality. Far from becoming "nobodies," writers are fulfilling their dedicated function when they remain outside contemporary upheavals.
>
> Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare, Goethe, Thomas Hardy—how derogatory it would have been to their honor, to the strange rumor that surrounds the genius, if they had allowed themselves to be submerged in any particular preoccupation of their generation.

It shall be our purpose to show that this attitude is founded upon nothing more than hollow rhetoric.

In the first place, it is impossible to conceive of anything "entirely detached from the delusive turmoils of everyday reality". The artist, unless he be a paranoic or schizophrenic, is certainly not different from other humans in that he has to get his ideas from reality, that is, from the world in which he lives and writes. It is hard to imagine his getting them from any other world unless he is in contact with that mysterious Karma which occidental theosophists have converted into a flirtation of the spirit. The ideas of the world, and, therefore, of reality change, and the artist is no more independent of these changes than is the scientist, schoolman or philosopher. The artist, as the poet has said, holds the mirror up to his age, which is equivalent to saying that he is dependent upon his age for

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what he is to mirror. Powys' description of the writer as free of contemporaneous realities is a delusive and dangerous fiction.

That poets "approach life with passion and intensity . . . . touch the cold ground with (their) foreheads before the miracle of existence," as Mr. Powys says, may be very true, but the nature of their expression, the content of their conclusions, are, none the less, determined by the mundane conditions of the society in which they live.

At all events, the concept of the artist as "free as a seagull flying over wild waves", as Mr. Powys describes him, is emphatically anarchistic and reprehensively ridiculous.

As we have said, this attitude of Powys', however, is not singular, except in its shallowness. Let us examine the statements of a few other critics. Professor Woodberry declares that:

> The artistic life (is one) which one shares in the soul universal, the common soul of mankind which yet is manifest only in individuals and their concrete works. Art, like life, has its own material being in the concrete, but the spiritual being of both is in the universal.

Professor Spingarn is scarcely more definite:

> In the world where morals count we have failed to give them (the poets) the proper material out of which to rear a nobler edifice. Insofar as this is adherent in the nature of humanity, it is not affected by the special conditions of society in space and time.

And in another place, Professor Spingarn is more direct:

> We have done with the race, the time, the environment of a poet's work as an element in criticism.

We could go on endlessly almost, citing similar quotations from authors of both critical and creative literature.

"To see the object as in itself it really is", the aim of criticism according to Matthew Arnold, is impossible without knowledge of all the causes of the creation and character of the object. The relation of a piece of art to its environment from which it has necessarily sprung is the fundamental means that we have of tracing and interpreting its birth and evolution. The object cannot be seen "as in itself it really is" if examination of its immediate features is made to preclude analysis of its social origin and growth. Poets can no more ramin unaffected "by the special conditions of their society" than can scientists or philosophers. Every individual, be he a maniac or genius, must get his ideas from his social environment, and to speak of his not being affected by this environment is sheer fatuity. This tendency to rhapsodize regardless of reality betrays one of the underlying weaknesses of our civilization. The poet's aim is no free and spontaneous thing, winging itself into

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the empyrean without the trammels of reality. After all, the very imagination of the poet is determined by the realities that confront him. Poets do not write of seraphim and cherubim now as they did in previous centuries when these traceries of religious fancy were accepted as parts of religious reality. Nor do they concern themselves, except in historical romance, with the intrigues and tribulations of court, though the vestiges of royalty still cling to the edge of conservative society. They deal with a different world, with different materials, with different forms, and express a different attitude.

It shall be our further and fundamental aim to trace the connections between these materials and these forms and the social and economic basis of society of which they are the expression. We shall show the dependency of art upon economic conditions—the relationship of art to social life. In other words, we shall point out the necessity of looking at literature in terms of individual expression but of social environment.

In this way we shall see the influence of the class-struggle, in shaping the concepts and trends of literary doctrine, and the effect of labor upon literature.

* * *

CHAPTER I.

MODERN literature began with the Renaissance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The course of the Renaissance was northward. It started in Italy and reached its culmination in England.

The Renaissance was primarily a result of the commercial revolution. It was the invention of the compass* and the extension of navigation that gave it its spirit and momentum. The invention of printing accelerated the spread of its new attitude.

Let us examine, for a moment, some of the factors underlying civilizations. Let us see why the advance of culture has gone from Greece to Italy and thence to England. It is necessary that we understand this in order to interpret the spirit and the meaning of the new literatures that we shall see arise out of the old forms and traditions.

Why is it that Greek civilization of today is no longer what it was in the age of Pericles? Why is it that Rome is no longer the mistress of the world? Why are the ancient empires of Asia but irremediable ruins today? Civilizations flourish where production

*The compass had really been invented years before in the East, but was unknown to occidental mariners.

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increases, commerce finds centres and contacts multiply. Why did the first civilizations spring up along the Nile and the Tigris and Euphrates? Because of the fertility of the soil, the presence of rivers and the advantage of the climate. The schoolboy is acquainted with that fact. Why was Greece the center of civilization during the days of Plato and Pericles? Because the center of commerce and social contacts was Athens. The protected situation of Greece, the location of Athens, the presence of the Aegean—not racial superiorities—made Grecian civilization. When navigation advanced, and the north began to open up prospects, Italy replaced Greece as the center of civilization. Greek civilization then began to decay and Roman to progress. Until the compass was invented and mariners could venture safely beyond inland seas like the Mediterranean and the Aegean, Italy retained its supremacy. But with the strife over Eastern enterprise and the difficulties that arose over transport routes on both land and sea, exploration advanced, America was discovered and the world encircled.

America was the new prospect that upset the equilibrium of the Renaisance world. During the heydey of the Italian cities Italy was the center of Western commerce, because the Mediterranean was the center of sea traffic. With America open to exploitation, however, and the multiplication of navigators unafraid of the oceanic wastes, the center of commerce shifted from the Mediterranean and a new commercial route came into existence and Italy had to face the competition of a new force on the commercial horizon of sea traffic. England supplanted Italy as the leading nation in world affairs, and so the tide of progressive civilization turned for the first time toward the distant North. In other words it was not a matter of race but of a change in the social and commercial centers that brought the so-called Anglo-Saxon nation to the forefront of civilization. It was a matter of geographical and economic environments, and not racial superiorities, that were the determining factors in the change. Greece and Italy are not the great ruling countries they once were because they are no longer on the Fifth Avenue of economic development.

Out of this enormous commercial change was to be born a new civilization.

Two social orders were in conflict, the old and the new. The old order was known as feudalism and the new order was known as commercialism. Later this latter order was to change into industrialism.

What was the nature of feudalism? Feudalism was a system of production that was agrarian in character. In short, farming was its main productive occupation. The chaos that followed the downfall of the Roman Empire necessitated some social order that

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would offer security to its citizens. The system of feudalism grew out of this social demand. People were bound to each other in a hierarchy of social relationships. It was a grouping, as Mr. Wells states it, "for mutual protection of men and estates". The *fief* was usually land for which a man in turn became a vassal of his lord. Beginning with the serf and ending with the most powerful nobles and the king, feudalism perfected a rough form of pyramidal relationships that restored order to social life.

Despite the conflicts between nobles and the wars between kings, there was about the social and economic life of feudalism a certain stationess of pattern and a certain fixity of organization. Although expeditions for plunder were not infrequent among the aristocracy, there was about the whole philosophy of feudalism a sociality of attitude that gave unity to life and co-operation to endeavor. Competition, which became paramount in the acquisitive society of the new order, was discouraged. Among the lower orders there was a kind of caste communism that existed.

The Christian priests of the Middle Ages, reflecting the ethical outlook of the feudal order, were opposed to avarice and competition. In other words, to paraphrase the ethics of St. Antonio, riches exist for man, not man for riches. The ideal system of life, wrote Gratian, on communism. Usury was condemned and private gain at the expense of public benefit declared a social sacrilige. Gratian's statement:

> The man who buys (something) that he may gain by selling it again unchanged and as he bought it, that man is of the buyers and sellers who are cast forth from God's temple,

is illustrative of the feudal attitude toward cupidity and exploitation. The "lust of gain" was invariably scourged. A schoolman of the fourteenth century expresses the same attitude in even more illuminated detail:

> He who has enough to satisfy his wants, and nevertheless ceaselessly labors to acquire riches, either in order to obtain a higher social position, or that subsequently he may have enough to live without labor, or that his sons may become men of wealth and importance—all such are incited by a damnable avarice, sensuality or pride.

The common need was paramount. Usury was categorized with the unpardonable sins, and no usurer "could become mayor, councilor or master of the gild". The relief of the poor was one of the fundamental duties of those who had escaped poverty. In brief, *it was the social character of wealth* that was at the basis of the medieval doctrine of society and feudal religion.[1]

The expansion of commerce and the rise of the bourgeoisie slow-

1. Tawney—Religion and the Rise ofCapitalism.

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ly undermined feudal economics and the rule of aristocracy. A new economic world was hatching itself out of the shell of the old. A new life was being created. Feudalism and feudal ethics were inadequate to meet the demands of the nascent society. With the enhancement of enterprise, the development of exchange, and the accumulation of wealth, a new ethics and a new philosophy crystallized out of the chaos. The disappearance of sociality and the rise of individuality, the evanescence of caste-communism and the rise of class individualism, marked the change from the old society to the new. The spirit of mutual aid was crucified by the spirit of private gain.

The ethics of feudalism had condemned the usurer, attacked and restricted the merchant, and discouraged the extension of competitive enterprise. The church had been unmitigated in its opposition to the catastrophic consequences of cupidity and competition.

> Merchants who organize a ring, or money lenders who grind the poor, it regards, not as business strategists, but as **nefaudoe belluoe**, monsters of iniquity.1

As for those "who buy up corn, meat, and wine . . . . to amass money at the cost of others," the church denounced "as no better than common criminals."2 With the new social order of commercialism this ethic could not survive. The bourgeoisie could never have risen with such a morality as a fetter to its undertakings in the commercial world. The old morality had to be broken and buried. Succumbing to sacrilege and simony, thriving upon bribe and plunder, the Catholic church weakened, but philosophically it clung closer to the old order than its rebellious opponents. Money was already becoming a mania. It was Columbus, in the fifteenth century, who declared:

> Gold constitutes treasures, and he who possesses it has all the needs in this world, as also the means of rescuing souls from Purgatory, and restoring them to the enjoyment of Paradise.

It should not be thought that the new economics and the new morality were accepted without protest. Luther, exposing the growing individualism of his time in his revolt against authority, nevertheless, opposed the usurious tendencies of the bourgeoisie, and Zwingli denounced the possession of private property in social life. The protests, however, were impotent. Moral declamations are futile in the clash of economic change. The new economics, with its individualistic ethics, soon had its defenders and promoters, Calvin justified both the practice of profits and the wisdom of usury, and thus gave a religious sanction to commercial pursuits.

1. Ibid. p. 55.

2. Trithemius—quoted from Tawney's Religion and Rise of Capitalism.

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"What reason is there," asked he, "why the income from business should not be larger than that from land-owning. Whence do the merchant's profits come, except from his own diligence and industry?"

Money making, we see, is now defended as a virtue, and profit-seeking becomes an attribute of the good life. The economic virtues have become predominant. Prudence and piety are now considered "the best of friends." And the "discharge of the duties of business" becomes "the loftiest of religious and moral virtues." Religion becomes an anodyne of capitalism.[1] Success in business, according to the preacher, Richard Steele, becomes "a proof that a man has labored faithfully in his vocation, and that God has blessed his Trade."

Feudalism, as we see, had hindered competition. The new order was based upon competition. How had feudalism thwarted competitive enterprise? First, it had fixed the wages of the laborer; secondly, it had fixed prices; thirdly, it had condemned usury and speculation which were to prove so important to the development of commercial civilization. In other words, it was a direct block to individual incentive and ambition. The individual was limited by the social whole. With feudal economy intact, protestant religions, and capitalism in industry, individualism in endeavor, could never have flourished.

It was, as we have hitherto stated, the spread of commerce, and the rise of the merchant class, the bourgeoisie, that broke the bonds of feudalism and hatched the embryo of the new society.

* * *

Now that we have noted the economic conditions that were in conflict in the death of the old and the birth of the new society, we are in a position to understand the conflicting tendencies that prevailed in literature.

It should not be thought that feudalism perished suddenly or with uniform rapidity over the western world. Even today, in fact, we find, in obscure communes scattered over the farm-lands of Europe, vestiges of the feudal tenure. Feudalism passed first in those countries where commerce and industry grew most swiftly. It was in England, where the geographic and economic conditions particularly favored the commercial class, that feudalism first fell. In France the feudal fetters did not vanish until the French Revolution.

It is because in England the effect of social classes upon literature is most marked that we shall devote the greater part of our examination to the trends of English literature.

(Continued in the next issue.)

1. W. Raleigh—The English Voyages of the 16th Century, p. 28 (1910), Tawney's Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.

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With Marx and Engels

The Civil War in North America.

By *Frederick Engels.*

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The present section of the Marx-Engels articles on the American Civil War consists of articles by Engels dealing exclusively with the military strategy of the Civil War. Comrade Landy in his introduction points out that among many would-be Marxists and adherents of the "economic interpretation of history" it is fashionable to regard "the insignificant story of battles and sieges" as unworthy of serious attention. This attitude is in part an excessive reaction against the tendency on the part of bourgeois historians to devote too much space to military matters. But much more it is a result of the pacifist tendencies which have crept into "Marxist theory" during the "peaceful period" of the Second International.

Military science is not only an inseparable part of the revolution, but also an inseparable part of the equipment necessary to an understanding of historical events. Today the Marxist is watching with a map before him the march of military events in China, as once Engels watched military events in America.—B. D. W.

INTRODUCTION

By A. L.

I.

There are several reasons for publishing Engels' article in English translation. The Civil War occupies an important place in American history, and it occupied an equally important place in Marx's and Engels' estimation of the conditions of the proletarian revolution and the revolutionary development of the working class. For us in America, therefore, the subject has a two-fold attraction, although it must be admitted that the importance of the four-year struggle in Marx's and Engels' outlook has hitherto received almost no consideration and still awaits proper biographical evaluation. Engels' article, however, is of special interest to Marxists. It not only deals with the American Civil War, but it is concerned with an aspect of the war which, strange as it may seem, many apparent Marxists and adherents of the "economic interpretation of history" look upon as unworthy of serious attention, namely, the "insignificant story of battles and sieges." Indeed, it not only is concerned with a military subject, but, what on the surface may appear as

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a defection from Marxism, it deals with it exclusively from the point of view of military science. What an excellent contribution to the study of Marxism analysis! Finally, the present article will serve to acquaint us with a phase of Engels' activity which has more than mere biographical interest.

It is undoubtedly true that Engels' interest in military studies had a pronounced personal aspect. But proceeding intensely and systematically, with a definite aim in view, he gave his studies a theoretical and political basis which carried them beyond the limits of mere personal interest. And how could a person remain within the restrictive barriers of private aspiration whose whole nature was so intensely political and the major portion of whose life was dominated by the exclusive aim not merely to interpret the world but above all to change it. It was just this that Marx and Engels held up to the "Holy Family"[1] when the latter criticized Proudhon for writing in the special interest of the proletariat. "He did not write out of interest for self-sufficient criticism," they replied, "out of an abstract, self-made interest, but out of a real, historical, mass interest, out of an interest which will lead farther than *criticism*, namely, to a *crisis*."[2] And the principle of concrete, historical activity leading to the social revolution, which they thus enunciated in 1844, continued to be the principle upon which they acted to the end of their lives.

Engels' interest in military studies was no "abstract, self-made interest." It had its origin in the concrete events of 1848 and especially in his experiences during the "glorious adventure" in Baden in 1849 in which he took active part. After the suppression of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in May, 1849, Marx left for Paris and Engels went into the Palatine, which, together with Baden, had risen in support of the constitution of the Empire. There he joined a volunteer corps, occupying the position of adjutant. After participating in three battles and the decisive combat on the Murg, which ended in the defeat of the revolutionary soldiers, Engels left Germany for Switzerland, only to proceed to England a month later.

As far as Marx and Engels were concerned, the February defeat had only brought a pause in the revolutionary movement. And it is indicative of their character as revolutionary Marxists that they neither expected the revolution to break out anew in the face of an almost unparalleled prosperity and development of the productive forces of bourgeois society, nor succumbed to an attitude of hopeless dispair. A new revolution was only possible as a result of a new crisis. The one, however, was just as certain as the other. Meanwhile they had the two-fold task of studying the causes of the outbreak and its defeat and of preparing themselves for the next act of the movement. On the whole, this was absolutely cor-

1 Engels, F. und Marx, K.: Die Heilige Familie oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Frankfurt a. M. 1845. p. 52-53. Engels' share in this volume, however, was very slight, and the section on Proudhon from which the above quotation is taken, was written by Marx.

2 Foreward to the "Critique, etc." Ch. H. Kerr. Chicago, p. 14.

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rect and a fundamental, revolutionary procedure which was not invalidated by the fact that the next act of the drama failed to materialize during their life time.

Defeat did not discourage them. And unlike the democratic refugees, they utilized the pause in the revolutionary movement for "a very necessary piece of work." "If, then, we have been beaten," Engels wrote in terms of a true rebel, "we have nothing else to do but to begin again from the beginning. And, fortunately, the probably very short interval of rest which is allowed us between the close of the first and the beginning of the second act of the movement, gives us time for a very necessary piece of work: the study of the causes that necessitated both the late outbreak and its defeat; causes that are not to be sought for in the accidental efforts, talents, faults, errors, or treacheries of some of the leaders, but in the general social state and conditions of existence of each of the convulsed nations."[1]

By 1850, both Marx and Engels found themselves in England, acting upon the principle that in order to change the world, one must also know the world. It was not until they had convinced themselves of the impossibility of exerting any further influence upon Germany from abroad, however, that they proceeded to their studies in scientific earnest. "When, after the defeat of the Revolution of 1848-49," Engels wrote in a review of the Critique of Political Economy directly after its appearance, "we entered upon a period in which it became more and more impossible to influence Germany from abroad, our party left the field of incessant immigrant squabbling—for that remained the only action possible—to the vulgar democrats. While the latter wore themselves out with running and quarreling to their hearts' content, scuffled today in order to fraternize tomorrow and the day after again washed all of their soiled clothes before the world, while they went begging throughout all America, only to cause a new scandal, directly upon that, over the distribution of a few pirated dollars—our party was happy to find leisure again for study. It had the great advantage of having a new scientific view for its theoretical basis, the working out of which gave it enough to do; for that reason alone it could never decay as completely as the 'great men' of the emigres."[2]

We know very well what course Marx pursued. He renewed

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1 Revolution and Counter-Revolution or Germany in 1848. By Karl Marx. Edited by Eleanor Marx Aveling. London, 1896. p. 2. Although attributed to Marx, we know now since the publication of the correspondence between Marx and Engels, that these articles were really written by the latter.

2 Engels, F.: Marx's "Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie." Erstes Heft. Berlin, Franz Duncker, 1859. This review was originally published in the London German paper, "Das Volk" for August 6th and 20th, 1859. A third article failed to appear since the paper ceased publication with Engels' second installment. The review was later reprinted in the "Sozialistische Monatshefte" for 1900 and the "Neue Zeit" for 1915-16. My quotation is taken from the latter, page 10.

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his economic studies which had been interrupted, as he tells us in his foreword to the "Critique of Political Economy", by the publication of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung and the events following the Revolution of 1848. "The enormous material on the history of political economy which is accumulated in the British Museum; the favorable view which London offers for the observation of bourgeois society; finally, the new stage of development upon which the latter seemed to have entered with the discovery of gold in California and Australia, led me to the decision to resume my studies from the very beginning and work up critically the new material."[1] The result of Marx's labor is now the property of the international proletariat. But it can never be overemphasized that while Marx studied in the interest of the revolution, which in itself excluded any specious concept of "practicalness" to which so many "men of action" cling, he knew that thought is merely the ideological reflection of the material world, hence could serve the revolution only as it proceeded from and kept pace with the complex reality of the objective historical process. He drew all the implications of his dialectic method, which carried him from form to substance, from appearance to reality, and performed a labor that was equal to the change he sought to accomplish. Study in the interest of the revolution means work, and there was no one more bitter in his denunciation of inspiration "from above" than Marx himself. It is very indicative, therefore, when Marx writes to Weydemeyer on June 27, 1851: "I am usually at the British Museum from 9 in the morning to 7 in the evening. The material which I am working on is so damnably ramified, that, even with every exertion, it will be impossible to finish before six to eight weeks. In addition, there are always practical disturbances, unavoidable with the London system in which one vegetates here. In spite of all that and all that, the thing is hastening to a close. It is necessary to break off forcibly once for all. The democratic simpletons, to whom enlightenment comes 'from above', naturally have no need for such exertions. Why should they torment themselves with economic and historical material, these favored sons. It is all so simple, brave Willich used to tell me. All so simple! In these simple-minded heads."[2]

But while Marx groped through the ramifications of political economy, scanning the horizon for the crisis which he felt would bring the imminent revolution, Engels turned to a subject to which he attributed "enormous importance" in the next act of the movement. Soon after he had settled in Manchester at the end of 1850, he therefore devoted himself to the study of military science.

There have been people who saw, or wished to see, a national motive in Engels' military interests. But Trotsky was quite correct when he replied, on the occasion of a review of Engels' Notes on the War of 1870 which Friedrich Adler republished from the "Pall Mall Gazette" four years ago: "Engels' interest for military

1 Mehring, F.: Neue Beitraege zur Biographie von K. Marx und F. Engels. In: Die Neue Zeit, 25-2 (1906-07), p. 54.

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questions had no national, but purely revolutionary sources. Having come out of the events of 1848 as a mature revolutionary who had the 'Communist Manifesto' and revolutionary struggles behind him, Engels viewed the question of the conquest of power by the proletariat as a purely practical question whose solution depended to no small extent upon problems of war. In the national movements and war events of the years 1859, 1864, 1866, 1870-71, Engels searches for the levers for a direct revolutionary action. He investigates every new war, reveals its possible connection with the Revolution and searches for ways to secure the future revolution by the force of arms. Herein lies the explanation for the vivacious, in no way academic, and not merely agitational, treatment of the problems of army and war which we find in Engels. Marx's position was in principle the same. But Marx did not occupy himself specially with military questions, depending herein entirely upon his 'second fiddle'."[1]

The choice of military rather than economic studies was no mere accident; and while Marx and Engels owed the similarity of their aim to a common, theoretical outlook, the difference between them was as much a difference in the particular conditions of their lives as a divergence in personal character. In this respect, Engels' letter to Weydemeyer, dated June 19, 1851, is very instructive. "Since I have been here in Manchester," he writes to this former Prussian artillery lieutenant, "I have begun to study militaria. The enormous importance which the partie militaire must acquire with the next movement, an old inclination, my Hungarian war articles in the 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung', finally my glorious adventure in Baden, have all made me throw myself upon it, and I want to get far enough along in the matter to be able to talk along theoretically, at least to some extent, without disgracing myself too much. . . . Autodidacticism, however, is nonsense everywhere, and if one does not carry the thing on systematically, he does not get anything properly done. Now what I actually need, you will know better than I, if I remind you that—my Baden promotion naturally aside —I did not get farther than a royal Prussian militia-bombardier.

"Naturally, I am not concerned about gaiter-details, etc., which can be of no use to me; I am concerned rather about a general survey of the elementary knowledge necessary in the different branches going into enough detail as is necessary for the understanding and correct evaluation of historical facts of a military nature. Thus, for example, elementary tactics, theory of fortification, actually embracing, more or less historically, the different systems of Vauban up to the modern system of *forts detaches,* including a discussion of field entrenchments, and other histories relating to the question of engineering, for example, the different kinds of bridges, etc., further, a general history of military science and the changes

1 Trotsky, L.: Engels' Kriegaufsaetze. In: Arbeiter-Literatur. Nummer 5-6, Juni 1924. p. 212-213.

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produced by the development and perfection of weapons as well as of their methods of use. Then something proper on artillery, since I have forgotten much and some things I don't even know, as well as other requisites which don't occur to me just now, but are certainly known to you.

"Please send me sources concerning all these *elementaria* so that I can get the things myself . . . . It goes without saying, that I am concerned about the knowledge of the practical, the really existing, not about the systems or notions of unrecognized geniuses."[1]

Engels' plans did not remain mere intentions. His discouraging experiences with democratic officers during the Baden uprising were not the least of the stimuli that drove him to persevere in a study which absorbed him. And his correspondence with Marx is adequate testimony of the scientific intensity and systematic thoroughness with which he proceeded to carry out his share in the solution of a problem which was eminently practical. The army in all its technical details, elementary tactics, theory of fortification, bridge construction, field entrenchments, the history of military science, including the Englishman Napier, the Frenchman Jomini, and the German Clausewitz, were all actually worked through with the most patient diligence.

And by July 15, 1852, Engels feels advanced enough to write confidently to Marx: "I shall soon be far enough along to risk having an independent military judgment before the public . . . . Just let me study militaria for a year and the Democrat-Lieutenants will be infernally surprised."[2] A few months before, Engels, who had begun the study of slavic languages simultaneously with his 'militaria", explained to Marx that "aside from the linguistic interest which the thing has for me, there is also the consideration that, with the next grand historical event, at least one of us should know the history, the literature and the details of the social institutions of just those nations with which we come immediately into conflict."[3] Thus, nine months of the requested year had hardly gone before Engels indicated another important advance in his studies. "This winter," he wrote to Weydemeyer on April 12, 1853, "I have perfected myself considerably in slavic languages and militaribus, and by the end of the year I shall understand Russian and South-Slavonic rather well."[4]

The opportunity to exercise his knowledge in the fire of revolution came neither in the fifties nor in the five decades of the sedulous life that followed. In its place came war and the inglory of a misere which threatened the very genius of the revolution itself. For ten years between 1852 and 1862, during which Marx struggled to stay on the surface of an engulfing bourgeois misery,

1 Mehring: Neue Beitraege, etc. Neue Zeit, 25-2. p. 55-56.

2 "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Engels und Marx." Herausgegeben von A. Bebel und E. Bernstein. Bd. I. Stuttgart, 1913. p. 327.

3 Ibid. p. 305-6.

4 Mehring: Neue Beitraege. Neue Zeit, 25-2. p. 166.

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Engels wrote military articles for him which he then sent off as his own to the New York Daily Tribune. Toward the end of the decade, Engels again came to Marx's aid and supplied him with technical articles for the New American Cyclopedia and Putnam's Monthly. And when Marx was finally engaged to write for the Vienna "Presse" not long after the outbreak of the American Civil War, Engels continued to fulfill his duty as "military department." In this, he not only performed the labor of a friend, but acted directly in the interest of the revolution, as both he and Marx realized.

The fifties were hardly on their way, before Europe began to experience a number of wars which culminated for Engels in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Far from underestimating the role of war in the history of class society, he recognized that war could be, and has often been, a lever of historical progress; and instead of declaiming against its irrationality, or turning his back to it with a few banal phrases, he studied it in all its aspects, probing it closely for the starting point of the Revolution.[1]

By the end of the Franco-Prussian War, Engels had a considerable number of purely military writings to his credit. And although they can have but little interest for the general reader today, they undoubtedly constitute a valuable part of his total writings.[2]

II.

Up to the present, there has been no attempt to evaluate Engels' activity as a military student and writer.[3] This is of course the task of a military specialist who is also a Marxist. Nevertheless, without attempting to deal with the subject in itself, a concluding word as to its dialectic implications will be in place.

In his review of Engels' articles on the Franco-Prussian War, Trotsky wrote: "Unscrupulously banning every abstraction from his analysis, viewing the war as a material chain of operations, considering every operation from the standpoint of the really existing

1 Compare Franz Mehring: Eine Geschichte der Kriegskunst. Ergaenzungsheft zur Neuen Zeit, 27-1 (1908-09).

2 To save space, I am reserving a detailed discussion of Engels' views on the American Civil War for another time. The titles of some of his military writings, a number of which were written originally in English, might be of interest here: "The Po and the Rhine", a sixty-four page pamphlet dealing with the Italian war of 1859; a second pamphlet on the same subject, "Savoy, Nice, and the Rhine"; "Essays Addressed to Volunteers", reprinted from the "Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire" in 1861; "The Prussian Military Question and the German Labor Party" (1865); "The Armies of Europe", an extremely long paper published anonymously in Putnam's Monthly for 1855; and "Notes on the War", being sixty articles reprinted from the "Pall Mall Gazette" by F. Adler in 1923. The articles, which follow the Franco-Prussian War almost day by day, are extremely interesting to read even today. But, as Trotsky pointed out, they must be read with map in hand.

3 Mehring, and still more Trotsky, have made beginnings in this direction. It is interesting to note that, as a result of his successful military articles, which were often attributed to military celebrities, Engels came to be called the "General" by his intimate friends.

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forces, means, and the possibility of their being turned to account, this great revolutionist acted as . . . . a war specialist, i. e., as a person who, by virtue of his calling or his vocation alone, proceeds from the inner factors of the conduct of war."[1] It was as such a specialist that Engels wrote his article on the Civil War in America. This war, he tells us, is something unparalleled in the history of war because of the enormous extent of the disputed territory, the far-reaching front, the numerical mass of the opposing armies, created out of nothing, as it were, the fabulous cost of these armies, the manner in which the war is conducted, and finally the general tactical and strategical principles underlying its conduct. Remaining within the limits of the military situation, he proceeds to analyze and weigh the respective forces, seeking for the basis fo victory or defeat.

But is not the Marxist lost in the military specialist? We could do no better than to quote a man who has much in common with Engels in this respect. "One of the basic philosophical premises of Marxism," says Trotsky in reply to a similar question, "is that truth is always concrete. That means that the handicraft of war and its problems must not be resolved into social and political categories. War is war, and the Marxist who wishes to judge it must bear in mind that the truth of war is also concrete . . . ." Furthermore, "though military problems may not be resolved into general political problems, it is just as inadmissible to separate the former from the latter. War . . . . is a continuation of politics with special means. This profound dialectic thought was formulated by Clausewitz. War is a continuation of politics: he who wishes to understand the 'continuation', must make it clear to himself what precedes it. But, continuation—'with other means'—signifies: it is not sufficient to be well oriented politically in order thereby to be able also to evaluate the 'other means' of war. The greatest and incomparable advantage of Engels consisted in the fact that, while he profoundly understood the independent character of war—with its inner technique, structure, methods, traditions and prejudices—he was at the same time, the greatest authority on the politics to which war is in the last analysis subordinate.

"There is no need to indicate that this tremendous advantage could not guard Engels from mistakes in his concrete military judgments and prognoses. During the Civil War in the United States, Engels overestimated the purely military advantages manifested by the Southerners in the first period, and was therefore inclined to believe in the victory."[2]

1 Arbeiter-Literatur. No. 5-6, p. 208.
2 Arbeiter-Literatur. No. 5-6, p. 207-208.

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THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

By FRIEDRICH ENGELS.

I.

(Published in "Die Presse", Vienna, March 26, 1862. Feuilleton.)

From whatever standpoint it is examined, the American Civil War presents a drama without parallel in the annals of the history of war. The enormous expanse of the disputed territory; the far-stretched front of the lines of operation; the numerical mass of the hostile armies; the creation of which scarcely rested upon an earlier organizational basis; the fabulous costs of these armies; the manner in which they are led and the general tactical and strategical principles according to which the war is conducted, are all new in the eyes of the European observer.

The Secessionist Conspiracy, organized long before its outbreak, protected and supported by Buchanan's administration, gave the South a lead by which alone it could hope to attain its goal. Threatened by its slave population and by a strong Unionist element among the whites themselves, with a number of freemen smaller by two-thirds than that of the North but readier to attack, thanks to the mass of adventurous idlers which it harbors, everything depended for the South upon a swift, bold, almost rash offensive. Were the Southerners to succeed in taking St. Louis, Cincinnati, Washington, Baltimore, and perhaps Philadelphia, they could count on a panic, while diplomacy and bribery could secure the recognition of the independence of all the slave states. Were this first attack to fail, at least at the decisive points, its condition would have to grow worse daily, simultaneously with the development of power by the North. This point was correctly grasped by those men who, in truly Bonapartistic spirit, had organized the Secessionist conspiracy. They opened the campaign in a corresponding manner. Their bands of adventurers invaded Missouri and Tennessee, while their more regular troops attacked East Virginia and prepared a coup de main upon Washington. With the failure of this coup, the Southern campaign was *from a military standpoint,* lost.

The North entered the stage of war reluctantly, sleepily, as was to be expected from its higher industrial and commercial development. The social machinery was far more complicated here than in the South, and it required far more time to give its movement this unaccustomed direction. The enlisting of the quarterly volunteers was a great but perhaps unavoidable blunder. It was the policy of the North, in the beginning, to check the defensive on all decisive points, to organize its forces, to exercise them by operations on a small scale and without the hazard of decisive battles; and finally as soon as the organization was sufficiently strengthened, at the same time that the treacherous element was more or less

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removed from the army, to pass over to an energetic, restless offensive and before all, to reconquer Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina. The transformation of the citizens into soldiers had to cost more time in the North than in the South. Once accomplished, they could count upon the individual superiority of the Northern man.

On the whole, after deduction of the blunders which arose more from a political than a military source, the North acted according to those principles. The little war in Missouri and West Virginia, while protecting the Unionist population, accustomed the troops to field service and fire without exposing them to decisive defeats. The great disgrace of Bull's Run was to some extent the result of the earlier error of enlisting quarterly volunteers. It was absurd to allow a strong position on difficult terrain in the possession of a numerically scarcely inferior enemy to be attacked by raw recruits at the front. The panic which gained control of the Union army at the decisive moment and whose motive is still not cleared up, could surprise no one who was at all acquainted with the history of peoples' wars. Such things happened to the French troops very often from 1792-1795, but, nevertheless, did not hinder the same troops from winning the battles of Jemappes and Fleurus, Montenotte, Castigilione and Rivoli. There was only one excuse for the silliness of the jests of the European press over the Bull's Run panic —the previous bragging of a part of the North American press.

The six months' rest which followed the defeat at Manassas was better utilized by the North than by the South. Not only did the Northern ranks fill up in a greater measure than those of the South. Its officers received better instructions; discipline and exercise of the troops did not meet with the same obstacles as in the South. Traitors and incapable intruders were more and more removed and the period of the Bull's Run panic belongs to the past. Naturally, the armies on both sides must not be measured by the standard of large European armies or even of the former regular army of the United States. Napoleon, it is true, could break in battalions of raw recruits in the depots during the first month, have them march during the second, and lead them before the enemy during the third; but then every battalion received a sufficient reinforcement of experienced officers and subordinate officers, every company a few old soldiers, and on the day of the battle the young troops were combined with the veterans and framed in, as it were, by them. All these conditions were lacking in America. Without the considerable mass of military experience which entered America following the European revolutionary unrests of 1848-1849, the organization of the Union army would have required still much more time. The very small number of dead and wounded in proportion to the total number of troops engaged (usually one to twenty) proves that most of the encounters, even the latest in Kentucky and Tennessee, were conducted mainly with rather long range fire arms,

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and that the occasional bayonet attacks either soon ceased before the hostile fire, or put the enemy to flight before it came to a hand to hand encounter. Meanwhile the new campaign has been opened up under more favorable auspices through the successful advance of Buell and Halleck through Kentucky to Tennessee.

After the reconquest of Missouri and West Virginia, the Union opened the campaign with its advance into Kentucky. Here the Secessionists held three strong positions, fortified encampments: Columbus on the Mississippi, to its left; Bowling Green, in the center; Mill Spring on the Cumberland River, to the right. Its line stretched across three hundred miles from west to east. The expanse of this line cut off the possibility to these three corps of mutually supporting one another and offered the Union troops the opportunity of attacking each one separately with superior forces. The great mistake in the position of the Secessionists arose out of the attempt to keep everything occupied. A single, strong, fortified, central encampment, intended for a decisive engagement on the battlefield and held by the main mass of the army, would have defended Kentucky far more effectively. Either the main force of the Unionists would have to be engaged, or the latter would be placed in a dangerous position should they try to march ahead without taking into consideration such a strong concentration of troops.

Under the given circumstances, the Unionists decided to attack those three camps one after another, maneuver their enemy out of them and force it to accept battle on the open field. This plan, which corresponded to all the rules of the art of war, was carried out with energy and speed. Towards the middle of January, a corps of about 15,000 Unionists marched upon Mill Spring which was occupied by 20,000 Secessionists. The Unionists maneuvered in such a manner as to make the enemy think that they only had to contend with a weak skirmish corps. General Zollikofer fell into the trap immediately, broke up out of his fortified camp and attacked the Unionists. He soon convinced himself that a superior force was opposing him. He fell, and his troops suffered as complete a defeat as the Unionists at Bull's Run. This time, however, the victory was exploited in an entirely different manner. The defeated army was closely pursued until it arrived at its camp near Mill Spring, broken, demoralized, without field artillery and baggage. This camp was erected on the northern bank of the Cumberland River, so that, in case of another defeat, the troops had no retreat open, except across the river by means of a few steamers and river boats. In general, we find that almost all Secessionist camps were erected on the hostile side of the river. To take such a position is not only correct, but also very practical if there is a bridge in the back. In such a case, the camp serves as a bridgehead and gives its possessors the chance to throw their fighting forces on both sides of the river at will, and thus to gain complete command of it. A camp on the hostile side of the river, on the other hand, with-

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out a bridge in the back, cuts off the retreat after an unfortunate encounter and forces the troops to capitulate, or exposes them to massacre and drowning, as happened to the Unionists at Ball's Bluff on the hostile side of the Potomac whither the treachery of General Stone had sent them.

When the defeated Secessionists had reached their camp at Mill Spring, they understood at once that a hostile attack on their fortifications would have to be repelled or capitulation follow in a very short time. After the experience of the morning, they had lost faith in their power of resistance. When, therefore, the next day the Unionists marched forward to attack the camp, they found that the enemy had used the night to cross the river, leaving behind the camp, the baggage, the artillery and provisions. In this manner, the most extreme right of the Secessionist line was forced back to Tennessee, and East Kentucky, where the mass of the population is hostile to the slaveholder party, reconquered for the Union.

About the same time—towards the middle of January—the preparations began for the ousting of the Secessionists from Columbus and Bowling Green. A fleet of mortar boats and iron clad cannon boats was held ready and the news spread everywhere that it was to serve as convoy to a large army marching along the Mississippi, from Cairo to Memphis and New Orleans. All demonstrations on the Mississippi, however, were mere sham maneuvers. At the decisive moment, the cannon boats were brought to the Ohio, from there to the Tennessee, up which they sailed as far as Fort Henry. This place, together with Fort Donnelson on the Cumberland River, formed the second line of defense of the Secessionists in Tennessee. The position was well chosen; for, in case of a retreat behind the Cumberland, the latter river will have covered its front, the Tennessee its left flank, while the narrow strip of land between the two rivers was sufficiently covered by the two abovenamed forts. The rapid action of the Unionists broke through the second line even before the left wing and the center of the first were attacked.

In the first week of February, the Unionist cannon boats appeared before Fort Henry which surrendered after a short bombardment. The garrison escaped to Fort Donnelson since the land force of the expedition was not strong enough to surround the place. The cannon boats then sailed down the Tennessee again, up to the Ohio, and from there up the Cumberland to Fort Donnelson. A single cannon boat sailed boldly up the Tennessee, right through the heart of the state of Tennessee, brushing the state of Mississippi and pressing forward as far as Florence in the north of Alabama where a series of swamps and shoals (known by the name of Muscle Shoals) prevented further navigation. This fact, that a single cannon boat made this voyage of at least 150 miles and then returned without suffering a single attack, shows that Union sympathy predominates along the river and would stand them in good stead were they to penetrate that far.

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The naval expedition on the Cumberland then combined its movements with those of the land forces under Generals Halleck and Grant. The Secessionists at Bowling Green were deceived in regard to the movements of the Unionists. They therefore remained quietly in their camp, while a week after the fall of Fort Henry, Fort Donnelson was enclosed on the land side by 40,000 Unionists and was threatened on the river side by a strong fleet of cannon boats. Like the camp at Mill Spring and Fort Henry, Fort Donnelson had the river at its back, without a bridge for retreat. It was the strongest place that the Unionists had attacked up till now. The works were constructed with greater care; besides, the place was capacious enough to provide shelter for the 20,000 men who occupied it. On the first day of the attack, the cannon boats silenced the fire of the batteries directed towards the river side, and bombarded the inside of the defense works, while the land troops drove back the hostile outposts and forced the main mass of the Secessionists to seek protection under the cannon of their own defense works. On the second day, the cannon boats, which had suffered strongly on the previous day, seemed to have accomplished little. The land troops, on the contrary, had a long and, in places, hot battle to fight with the columns of the garrison which tried to break through the enemy's right wing in order to secure the line of retreat to Nashville. Nevertheless, an energetic attack of the Unionist right wing on the left wing of the Secessionists, and important reinforcements received by the left wing of the Unionists, decided the victory in favor of the attackers. Different outerworks had been stormed. The garrison, wedged in its inner defense lines, without the chance of a retreat and obviously not in the position to resist an attack the next morning, surrendered unconditionally on the following day.

II.

("Die Presse". Vienna, March 27, 1862. Feuilleton.)

With Fort Donnelson the enemy's artillery, baggage and war provisions fell into the hands of the Unionists; 13,000 Secessionists surrendered on the day of the capture; 1,000 more the next day, and as soon as the outposts of the victors appeared at Clarkville, a city situated farther up the Cumberland River, it opened its gates. Considerable provisions were accumulated for the Secessionists here too.

The capture of Fort Donnelson only offers a riddle: the flight of General Floyd with 5,000 men on the second day of the bombardment. These fugitives were too numerous to be smuggled away on steamships during the night. With a few precautionary measures on the part of the attackers they could not escape.

Seven days after Fort Donnelson had been handed over, Nashville was occupied by the Federalists. The distance between the two places amounts to about 100 English miles, and a march of fifteen miles per day, on very miserable roads, during the most un-

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favorable season, does credit to the Union troops. On receiving the news of the fall of Fort Donnelson, the Secessionists cleared Bowling Green; a week later they left Columbus and withdrew to a Mississippi island forty-five miles farther south. Thus was Kentucky entirely reconquered for the Union. The Secessionists, however, can only hold Tennessee by offering and winning a big battle. In fact, they are supposed to have concentrated 65,000 men for this purpose. Meanwhile, nothing prevents the Unionists from confronting them with a superior force.

The conduct of the Kentucky campaign from Somerset to Nashville deserves the highest praise. The re-conquest of such a far-stretching country, the advance from the Ohio to the Cumberland in the course of a single month shows an energy, decision and speed seldom achieved by regular European armies. Compare, for example, the slow advance of the allies from Magenta to Solferino in the year 1859—without pursuing the retreating enemy, without attempting to cut off its stragglers or even to surround and encircle whole sections of its troops.

Halleck and Grant especially offer fine examples of decision in the conduct of war. Without in the least considering Columbus or Bowling Green, they concentrate their forces on the decisive points, Fort Henry and Fort Donnelson, attack them quickly and energetically and thereby make Columbus and Bowling Green untenable. Then they march at once to Clarkville and Nashville, without leaving the retreating Secessionists time to capture new positions in north Tennessee. During this rapid pursuit, the Secessionist troop corps in Columbus remains completely cut off from the center and the right wing of its army.

English papers have unjustly criticized this operation. Even if the attack on Fort Donnelson had miscarried, the Secessionists Bowling Green, occupied by General Buell, could not have detached sufficient men to enable the garrison to follow the repulsed Unionists into the open field or to endanger their retreat. Columbus, on the other hand, lay so far to the side that it could not at all intervene in Grant's movements. In fact, after the Unionists had cleared Missouri of the Secessionists, Columbus became a completely useless post for the latter. The troops of which its garrison was composed had to greatly hasten their retreat to Memphis or even Arkansas in order to escape the danger of an inglorious surrender.

As a result of the clearing of Missouri and the reconquest of Kentucky, the war stage has become so contracted, that the different armies along the entire line fo operation can cooperate to a certain extent and work for the achievement of definite results. In other words, the war is only now assuming a strategic character, and the geographic configuration of the country acquires new interest. It is now the task of the Northern generals to find the Achille's heel in the cotton states.

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Up to the capture of Nashville no strategic community of action was possible between the army of Kentucky and the army of the Potomac. They were too far away from one another. They stood on the same front, but their lines of operation were quite different. Only with the victorious advance in Tennessee did the movements of the Army of Kentucky became important for the entire theater of war.

The American papers that are influenced by McClellan, make a great fuss about the "Anaconda"—serpentine theory. According to this theory, an enormous line of armies should surround the rebels, gradually draw its limbs together and finally throttle the enemy. This is pure childishness. It is a re-warming of the so-called "Cordon system," discovered in Austria about 1770, which was applied against the French from 1792 to 1797 with such great stubbornness and with such constant failure. At Jemappes, Fleurus and especially at Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, Castiglione and Rivoli an end was put to this system. The French cut the "Anaconda" in two, in letting loose at a point where they had superior forces concentrated. Then the parts of the "Anaconda" were hacked to pieces in succession.

In well-populated and more or less centralized states, there is a center, with whose occupation by the enemy, the national resistance is broken. Paris is a brilliant example. The Slave States, however, possess no such center. They are thinly populated, with few large cities and all these on the ocean coast. The question is, therefore: Does a military point of gravitation exist, in spite of that, with whose removal the backbone of their resistance is broken; or are they, as Russia still was in 1812, not to be conquered without occupying every village and every spot, in a word, without occupying the whole periphery?

Glance at the geographic conformation of Secessia with its long coast line at the Atlantic and its long coast line at the Gulf of Mexico. As long as the Confederates held Kentucky and Tennessee, the whole formed a great compact mass. The loss of these two states drive san enormous wedge into their territory, which separates the states on the northern Atlantic Ocean from the states on the Gulf of Mexico. The direct highway from Virginia and the two Carolinas to Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi and partly even to Alabama leads across Tennessee, whcih is now captured by the Unionists. After the complete conquest of Tennessee by the Union, the only highway uniting the two sections of slave states, passes through Georgia. This shows that *Georgia is the key to Secessia.* With the loss of Georgia, the Confederacy would be cut into two sections which have lost all connection with one another. A reconquest of Georgia by the Secessionists could hardly be thought of, for the Unionist fighting forces would be concentrated in a central position, while their opponents, separated into two camps, would scarcely have sufficient forces to muster for a common attack.

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Would the conquest of all of Georgia with the sea coast of Florida be necessary for such an operation? By no means. In a country where the communications, especially between distant points, depend much more on the railways than on the highways, the seizure of the railways is sufficient. The southernmost railroad line between the states on the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic coast passes through Macon and Gordon near Mitledgeville.

The occupation of these two points would therefore cut Secessia in two and enable the Unionists to defeat one part after the other. At the same time, it can be seen from the above that no Southern Republic is capable of life without the possession of Tennessee. Without Tennessee, the vital point of Georgia lies only 8 or 10 marching days distant from the border; the North would constantly hold its hand at the throat of the South, and at the slightest pressure, the South would have to yield or fightf or its life anew under conditions in which a single defeat would cut off all outlook for success.

From the preceding consideration, it follows:

The Potomac is not the most important position in the theater of war. The seizure of Richmond and the advance of the Potomac Army farther South—difficult because of the many streams which cut across the line of march—could produce a tremendous effect morally. From a purely military point of view, they would decide nothing.

The deciding of the campaign belongs to the Kentucky Army now to be found in Tennessee. On the one hand, this army is closest to the decisive points; on the other hand, it occupies a territory without which Secession is incapable of life. This army would therefore have to be reinforced at the cost of all others and with sacrifice of all smaller operations. Its next points of attack would be Chattanooga and Dalton on the upper Tennessee, the most important railway centers of the entire South. After their occupation, the connection between the eastern and western states of Secessia would be limited to the lines of communication in Georgia. The question would then be of cutting off another railway line with Atlanta and Georgia; finally, of destroying the last connection between the two sections by seizure of Macon and Gordon.

If, on the contrary, the "Anaconda" plan is followed, the war, in spite of all individual successes and even at the Potomac, may stretch out to infinity while the financial difficulties, together with diplomatic entanglements, gain new scope.

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THROUGH THE MONTH

COAL STRIKE: After prolonged negotiations of the operators and the miners in Miami, Fla., the joint conference adjourned without an agreement. The operators demanded a competitive wage scale corresponding to the miserable wages paid the workers in the unorganized regions. The miners demanded the retention of the existing wage scale.

The strike was called on the first of April; the miners only striking sectionally. The bulk and backbone of the union, the fields of Ohio, Indiana, West Penna., and Ill., known as the Central Competitive Field, struck, but the remainder of the industry wherever the union had jurisdiction began effecting local and district agreements. Separate agreements were reached (temporary agreements) by the Central Pennsylvania miners and operators, the strip mines section of Indiana, and several Southwestern districts. The anthracite fields continue working under a five year contract: further splitting the forces of the miners. Today, the miners of the C. C. F. are standing alone, while the union is in the greatest crisis since its organization, and the remainder of the industry, union and nonunion, are contributing to the difficulties of the struggle of these striking miners. The nonunion fields are producing more than 70% of the tonnage with the anthracite fields operating. It is undeniably the conscious aim of the bosses to wreck the miners union. The struggle is most severe in the Pittsburgh district where company after company, many long thought to be "friendly" to the union, are now following the course of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. in abrogating their agreement, importing scabs from all corners of the country and working their mines nonunion, protected by the State Police and an army of company gunmen. „

The Ohio operators began evicting their miners. The union is building many barracks to house the miners in. Many arrests have taken place in Coverdale, Cannonsburg, Pa., throughout Ohio,and West Virginia when the miners started mass picketing. The wives and daughters of the miners of Coverdale dressed in the pit clothes of the miners, picketed the mine and paraded when the sheriffs of Washington and Alleghany counties issued proclamations prohibiting mass picketing.

Reports from West Virginia are that many thousands have joined the strike there. Van Bittner, in charge of the strike there, announced that they have succeded in curtailing the production by about 70%, and that in the Morgantown field, the walkout is practically 100% in the mines of Pursglove, Paisley, Soper-Mitchell and Gilbert Davis interest, and that production in the Fairmount and Flemington fields has been curtailed to a large degree.

Tht Indiana operators adjourned the joint conference between the U. M. W. A. and themselves, when three days were taken up and no agreement was in sight. The operators demanded their "competitive scale" and the miners demanded the Jacksonville Agreement ,

The Ohio operators issued a call for a joint conference to the Ohio miners "for the purpose of effecting a wage contract, based upon a reduction in wages of the existing contract". The miners refused to attend on such a premise

Central Pennsylvania miners and operators agreed to a continuation of the scale on a temporary basis. The operators can at any moment repudiate this agreement

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The situation in Illinois thru the month has been quiet No attempts have been made to scab the mines. Several local concerns have signed for a continuation of the scale temporarily.

The union is holding meetings thruout Kentucky and Southern West Virginia.

LABOR MOVEMENT:

April 1. Associated Fur Manufacturers issued instructions to its members to recognize only the International officials of the Fur Workers Union, and to have no dealings with the New York Joint Board, which has the support of the entire New York membership

April 2. Final arrangements were completed for the Pan-Pacific Labor Conference called under the auspices of the Australian and Chinese Labor Federation to be held in Shanghai beginning May 1.

April 3. By a vote of 155 to 117, the Chicago Federation of Labor adopted a resolution which protests against the interference of the American government in the internal affairs of the other countries, and demands the withdrawal of all military forces from China, Nicaragua, Panama, Cuba, and the Philippines

April 4. 4,000 Brooklyn, N. Y. painters went on strike for $14 a day, disregarding an injunction restraining them from going out.

April 5. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts refused a new trial to Sacco and Vanzetti.

April 6. The inquiry into the charges presented to the Mayor of New York City by Matthew Woll and other labor bureaucrats that the Fur Workers had bribed the New York police during their strike was begun. The Fur Workers deny the charges and charge Woll with endeavoring to frame them up.

April 6. J. Louis Engdahl and William F. Dunne editors, and Bert Miller, Business Manager of the Daily Worker, were placed under $500 bail each for the printing of a revolutionary poem in the Daily Worker.

April 7. Albert Weisbord, Simon Bombach and Simon Smelkinson were placed in nomination in Passaic as candidates for Commissioner. They bore the endorsement of the Workers Party.

April 9. Sacco and Vanzetti were sentenced to death by Judge Webster Thayer.

April 11. The United States Supreme Court ruled, in the case of the Bedford Cut Stone Co., that workers have not the right to refuse to work on non-union material. It further ruled that injunctions must be issued by lower courts to enforce this ruling. This practically does away with the right to strike and institutes a system of industrial serfdom whereby workers may be forced to work against their will.

April 12. A resolution was introduced into the Massachusetts Legislature calling upon the Governor to appoint a commission to investigate the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Protests against their sentence and demands for their liberation continue to pour in from all parts of the world.

April 15. J. Ramsay McDonald. head of the British Labor Party arrived in the United States and got a big welcome from the American master class.

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April 16. A mass protest meeting in Union Square, New York, against the sentencing of Sacco and Vanzetti was attended by more than 20,000 workers. The meeting adopted a resolution demanding the immediate release of the two workers and calling for a general strike in New York to enforce this demand.

April 25. The New York headquarters of the Workers (Communist) Party were raided by the Bomb Squad.

April 30. Twenty four miners were killed and 70 entombed by an explosion in the New England Fuel and Transportation Co. mine at Everettville, W. Va.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

April 2. The United States Treasury announced the reduction of the public debt by seven and a half billion dollars since the war. The same report indicates that income tax receipts in March would indicate a surplus of a half billion dollars for 1927.

April 5. William Hale Thompson elected Mayor of Chicago over Mayor William E. Dever by a plurality of 83,072.

April 6. The bill passed by the Philippine Legislature asking for a pleibiscite on the question of independence was vetoed by Coolidge.

April 15. Thousands of lives were endangered by the flooding of the Mississippi. All forces were mustered to prevent the breaking of the levees in Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky. Thousands are leaving these regions. The poor and Negroes are the heaviest sufferers. From this date on, the entire lower Mississippi valley is inundated by the flood, and the inhabitants are compelled to flee.

April 25. In a speech at the Annual Meeting of the United Press Association, President Coolidge laid down the fundamentals of American imperialist policy.

April 28. One hundred and sixteen warships of the United States Navy anchored in the Hudson River at New York City in preparation for the annual war manouvres off the Atlantic Coast.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

April 4. France declined to be represented in any capacity whatsoever at the "naval disarmament" conference called by President Coolidge for June at Geneva.

April 4. The British Government presented a bill to the House of Commons which would prohibit general or sympathetic strikes, involving large portions of the community or strikes which have an object other than the furthering of a trade dispute in the industry concerned. The bill would further prohibit the collecting of the political levy except from those workers who had signed a declaration expressing a desire to contribute and the expending of money for political purposes from any other but the political funds.

April 5. Italy and Hungary signed a treaty of "friendship, conciliation." "All disputes which cannot be settled by ordinary diplomatic means shall be submitted to a special court composed of members nominated by the contracting parties.

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April 5. Italian troops were defeated in an encounter with Arab rebels in Cyrena, Africa, an Italian colony in Northern Africa.

April 7. The Premier of Chile ousted the President and declared himself the "Acting President"—virtually dictator. He is making a campaign to rid the country of "Bolshevist influence," and in this campaign is exiling every liberal, suppressing the newspapers and disbanding the labor unions and workers political parties.

April 8. In an address delivered to the Berlin Chamber of Commerce, Louis Loucheur Frances's biggest millionaire and financier, declared it was necessary for Europe to unite in order to compete against the United States.

April 12. The British cabinet approved the extension of suffrage to women over 21 years of age. At present, only women who are over 30 have the suffrage in England.

April 17. The Japanese cabinet resigned due to the financial crisis in the country.

April 17. Ramsay McDonald, leader of the British Labor Party was defeated as delegate to the Labor Party from the Independent Labor Party at the latter's annual conference at Leicester. He also failed to be elected as treasurer of the Party, a post he has held for many years.

April 18. Baron Tanaka, head of the Seiukai Party, accepted the premiership of Japan.

April 22. Tito Zaniboni and Gen. Luigi Capello were convicted to thirty year's imprisonment, and others received smaller sentences, on the charge of having conspired against the life of Mussolini.

April 24. Altho making large gains in the number of votes received, and small gain in the number of deputies elected, the Socialist Party failed to obtain a majority in the National elections of Austria.

April 26. The preparatory disarmament commission of the League of Nations adjourned without having reached any accord on a single matter discussed.

LATIN AMERICA. April 2. The Women's Section of the Anti-Imperialist League of Mexico issued a circular denouncing America's imperialism.

April 4. Rebels against the Mexican government are reported active in five states, and the government is concentrating troops to crush them. The rebels are backed by the Catholic church.

April 7. Official documents in the hands of the Mexican authorities seem to indicate that the American State Department was supporting counter-revolutionary activity in Mexico. The State Department claims that these documents were stolen and forged.

April 7. Former Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson was appointed by President Coolidge to make an investigation of the situation in Nicaragua.

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April 12. Dr. T. S. Vaca, American representative of the liberal forces of Nicaragua charged that "American marines are conscripting men for the Diaz army, and are actually engaged in military operations short of actual duty on the firing line."

April 18. The City of Matagalpa, Nicaragua was declared "neutral" by Admiral Latimer, commander of the American forces, and occupied by American marines, to prevent its capture by the liberals.

April 20. A Gnadalajara-Mexico City train was held up by Mexican rebels. under the leadership of Catholic priests. and about 100 passengers were killed.

April 20. A Guadalajara-Mexico City train was held up by Mexican of Posoltega, Nicaragua, and occupied it.

April 22. The head of the Catholic Church, two archbishops and five bishops were expelled from Mexico because of their counter-revolutionary activity.

CHINA. April 1. A Chinese Commission of Inquiry investigating the Nanking affair in which 4 foreigners lost their lives, and subsequently hundreds of Chinese men, women and children were killed by British and American bombardment, issued the results of its findings which show that the disorders were caused by the remnants of the defeated northern (reactionary) army and the Russian white guards.

April 2. England despatched a new force of 5,000 men to China to back up the ultimatum which England is expected to deliver over the Nanking affair.

April 4. Pengtu and Anhui, on the Tientsin-Pukow railway were occupied by the Nationalist-Revolutionary troops.

April 5. A manifesto was issued by the Kuomintang appealing for unity within the ranks of the revolutionary forces against foreign imperialism.

April 7. The British Minister of Foreign Affairs delivered a speech in the House of Commons declaring that England will not permit herself to be "hustled" out of China.

April 8. 1,500 more troops were ordered to China by the State Department, making the total American troops in China as follows: 5,200 marines, 3,500 sailors and 860 infantry.

April 8. More troops were rushed to Indo-China by France, where there already are concentrated 6,000 white and many thousand native troops. It is feared that the events in China may have an effect on the natives of Indo-China.

April 11. Identical notes were presented to the Nationalist Revolutionary government by Great Britain, the United States, Japan, Italy and France, dealing with the Nanking affair. The note demands punishment of the "rioters," an apology. and a written promise to refrain from "violence" against foreign lives and property.

April 12. Following raids upon trade unions, and many arrests of trade union leaders by the forces of Chang Kai Shek, a general strike was called by the labor unions.

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April 13. Chang Kai Shek continues his raids upon the labor organizations in Shanghai. 100 were killed and 250 wounded in these raids.

April 14. The Hankow government issued an appeal to the American people asking them not to support the government in making war on China.

April 14. As a result of the traitorous activities of Chang Kai Shek, the northern armies succeed in regaining many of the positions which they had previously lost, occupying the north bank of the Yangtse from Yanchow to a point opposite Wuhu.

April 15. Eugene Chen replied to the American note, offering restitution for damage, but insisting that the question of guilt, apologies and punishment must await investigation to determine the responsibility for the outbreak.

April 15. A rump "conference" of the Kuomintang, called by Chang Kai Shek at Nanking, "impeaches" the Hankow government and orders the arrest of the officials.

April 15. Mass protest against the treachery of Chang Kai Shek sweeps the country. In Shanghai, a general strike against him was declared. A mass meeting of 50,000 workers in Hankow denounced him and demanded his removal.

April 17. Inspired by the betrayal of Chang Kai Shek, raids by the right wing of the Kuomintang against the trade unions were carried out in many cities. In Canton many were killed and over 2,000 were arrested as a result of the raids.

April 18. A rump "government" was set up at Nanking by Chang Kai Shek. Actually, this is a military dictatorship by himself.

April 20. More than 100 trade unionists, Communists and left wingers were executed by Chang Kai Shek in Shanghai.

April 22. Martial law was declared in Shanghai by Chang Kai Shek to help him in suppressing the labor organizations.

April 24. President Green of the American Federation of Labor issued a statement approving America's action in China "as long as it is limited strictly to protection of American lives and property." At the same time he expressed half-hearted sympathy with the "desire of the Chinese people for the enjoyment of self-government and the blessings of liberty and freedom.

April 24. Two submarine divisions of six boats and one tender each were sent to China by the State Department.

April 24. 19 Left Wing Kuomintang members were executed in Canton on orders of Chang Kai Shek.

April 25. The United States withdrew from the five-power alliance and declined to sign a second note to China.

April 28. 24 Chinese, accused of being Communists, seized in the raids on the Soviet Embassy, were strangled in Peking after a secret "trial," with the consent of the foreign powers.

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SOVIET UNION.

April 6. Soldiers of Chang Tso Lin, with the connivance of the foreign imperialist powers, raided the Soviet Embassy at Peking, arrested 22 Russian and 50 Chinese employes, and removed many documents.

April 7. On the order of the City Council of the International Settlement, of which an American is chairman, the Soviet Consulate at Shanghai was surrounded by police and none was permitted to enter or leave.

April 7. The Russian Bank, and the Russian Offices of the Chinese Eastern Railway at Tientsin were raided by Chang Tso Lin's troops.

April 9. The Soviet Charge D'Affaires was recalled from Peking as a protest against the raids on the Soviet Embassy there by Chang Tso Lin's troops.

April 10. The Soviet Government demanded the release of all employes seized in the raid on its embassies and the return of all documents. It stated that efforts are being made to provoke it into war, but the Soviet government will not permit itself to be provoked, and will not use repressive measures to enforce its just demands.

April 11. Eugene Chen Foreign Minister of the Nationalist Revolutionary Government at Hankow expressed regret at the insults to the Soviet Union in the raids of Chang Tso Lin.

April 15. The Soviet Union and Switzerland signed an agreement adjusting the Vorovsky controversy. Switzerland expressed regret for the assasination and provided for the compensation of Vorovsky's family. These had been the original demands of the Soviet government, which Switzerland had at first refused to grant.

April 18. In his speech to the All-Union Congress of Soviets at Moscow, Premier Rykoff declared that the Soviet Union must be ready to meet attacks against it by the imperialist powers, who looked with fear upon the success of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

April 21. American marines and troops of other foreign powers, took over the control of the grounds of the Soviet Embassy at Peking.

April 27. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union elected a presidium of 27 members, headed by the Presidents of the six Republics: Michael Kalinin, Gregory Petrovsky, Alexander Tcherviakoff, Gasanfara Massabekoff, Netirbaj Aytakoff and Faysulla Khodgaeff.

April 30. Maxim Litvinoff, Acting Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, announced that the Soviet Union would be represented at the Geneva Economic Conference by sixteen delegates.

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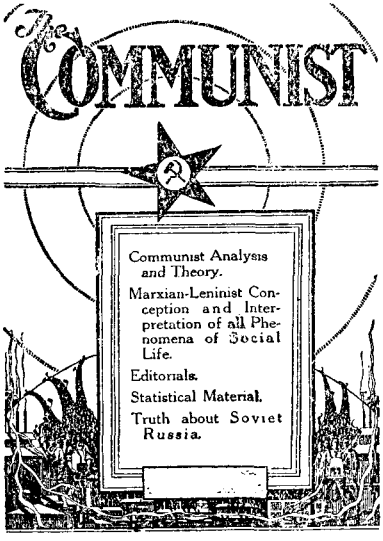

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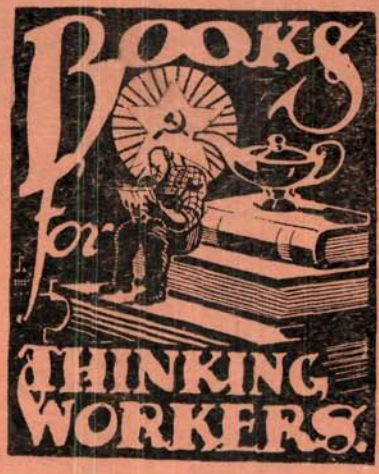

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